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THE THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

FOR THE ABOLITION OF

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;

PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL MEETING

HELD IN EXETER HALL,

On Friday, May 13th, 1842.

THE MOST HONOURABLE

THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE

IN THE CHAIR.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS, &c. &c. &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY, AND MAY BE HAD AT THEIR OFFICE, 27, NEW BROAD STREET; OF THOMAS WARD AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW; AND OF CHARLES GILPIN, 5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers.

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For 1842.

COMMITTEE.

WILLIAM ALLEN.
STAFFORD ALLEN.
WILLIAM BALL.
RICHARD BARRETT.
JOHN BEAUMONT.
Sir T. F. BUXTON, Bart.
Rev. JAMES CARLILE.
JOSIAH CONDER.
JOSEPH COOPER.
J. S. ELLIOTT.
JOSIAH FORSTER.
ROBERT FORSTER.
SAMUEL FOX.
SAMUEL GURNEY.
Rev. J. H. HINTON, A.M.
L. C. LECESNE.
SAMUEL H. LUCAS.
Rt. Hon. Dr S. LUSHINGTON.
RICHARD PEEK.
Dr THOMAS PRICE.
JACOB POST.
GEORGE STACEY.
HENRY STERRY.
HENRY TUCKETT.
Rev. JOHN WOODWARK.
Rev. JOHN YOUNG, A.M.

TREASURER.
G. W. ALEXANDER, Lombard Street.

SECRETARY.
JOHN SCOBLE.

COLLECTOR.
THOMAS BOULTON, 44, Essex Street, Strand.

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT EMBRACES

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY.

I. That the name of this Society be, "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

II. That the objects of this Society be, THE UNIVERSAL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE, AND THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE ENFRANCHISED POPULATION IN THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS, AND OF ALL PERSONS CAPTURED AS SLAVES.

III. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society:—

That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character;* and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society:—

1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the slave-trade and slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slave-holding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with abolitionists in America, France, and other countries; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable) in preference to slave-grown; and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom; and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slave-holders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

V. That every person who subscribes not less than ten shillings annually, or makes a donation of five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.

VI. That the Society be under the management of a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Committee of not less than twenty-one persons, who shall be annually elected, and shall have power to fill up vacancies, and to add to their number.

VII. That there be held in London a general meeting of the subscribers once in each year, at which a report of the proceedings and a financial statement shall be presented, and a Committee and officers elected.

VIII. That the Committee have power to transact all business of the Society in the intervals of the general meetings, and to convene special general meetings of the Society when necessary.

IX. That it be recommended to the Anti-slavery friends throughout the world, to form Auxiliary Societies upon the principles of, and in connexion with, this Society.

X. That Auxiliary Societies be empowered annually to appoint, and where such Auxiliaries are not formed, the Committee shall have power annually to appoint, one or more corresponding members who shall be at liberty to attend and vote at all meetings of the Committee in London; and that the Committee shall also be authorised to appoint annually honorary corresponding members, who shall have the same privileges.

XI. That the Committee do invite and encourage the formation of Ladies' Branch Associations, in furtherance of the objects of this Society.

NOTICE

RESPECTING BEQUESTS TO THE SOCIETY.

An act of parliament "for the Amendment of the Laws with respect to Wills" having been passed on the 3rd day of July, 1837; which act came into operation on the 1st day of January, 1838; the attention of all persons who may contemplate making Bequests to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is respectfully called to the following section:—

1 Victoriæ, cap. 26, sec. 9.

"And be it further enacted, That no Will shall be valid, unless it shall be in *writing*, and executed in manner hereinafter mentioned; (that is to say) it shall be signed at the foot or end thereof by the Testator, or by some other person in his presence and by his direction; and such signature shall be made or acknowledged by the Testator *in the presence of Two or more Witnesses present at the same time; and such Witnesses shall attest and shall subscribe the Will in the presence of the Testator;* but no form of attestation shall be necessary."

N.B. Wills executed *prior* to the 1st day of January, 1838, are not affected by the new act; but *any alteration therein*, or *Codicil thereto, must be executed in the manner before mentioned.*

The following extract from a work recently published, is worthy of particular attention:—

"The statute of 9 Geo. II. c. 36, called the Mortmain act, is not repealed or altered by the 1 Victoriæ, c. 26; and therefore legacies to charities out of *real* estate will still be void. If a Testator desire to leave legacies to charities, he must take care to make them payable, either expressly or by ordinary course of law, out of such *personal estate* as may be applied for that purpose. A bequest to a charity of a term of years, or leasehold property; or of money to arise from, or be produced by, the sale of land; or by the rents, profits, or other interest arising from land; or a bequest of money, to be laid out in land; or a bequest of money secured by mortgage; or a bequest of annuities charged on land, or rather rent-charges; or a bequest of money, with a direction to apply it in paying off mortgages on schools or chapels; or a bequest of money secured on parochial rates, or county rates, or turnpike tolls—is, in each case, void; and even where no particular fund is pointed out in the Will, for the payment of charitable legacies, and they are consequently a charge on the residue, and the residue consists, in part, of property of all or either of the kinds above specified, so much of the legacies will become void as shall bear the same proportion to the entire legacies as the exempted property bears to the entire residue."

FORM

OF A

BEQUEST TO THE SOCIETY.

I give and bequeath unto the Treasurer, for the time being, of THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the World, instituted in London in the year 1839, *the Sum of* *Pounds Sterling;* to be paid with all convenient speed after my decease, exclusively out of such part of my personal estate not hereby specifically disposed of, as I may by law bequeath to charitable purposes, *and I hereby lawfully charge such part of my estate with the said sum upon trust, to be applied towards the general purposes of the said Society; and the Receipt of such Treasurer for the time being of the said Society shall be a sufficient Discharge for the said Legacy.*

If a Testator wishes the Legacy to be paid free of Duty, he will add the following words to the above form: *and I direct that the Legacy Duty upon the said Legacy be paid by my Executors out of the same Fund.*

*** Devises of land, or of money charged on land, or secured on mortgage of lands or tenements, or to be laid out in lands or tenements, or to arise from the sale of lands or tenements, are void; but money or stock may be given by will, if not directed to be laid out in land.

NOTICE TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

With a view to the diffusion of information on Anti-Slavery subjects generally, the Committee have resolved to supply Auxiliary Societies, *for gratuitous distribution only,* with all pamphlets and small publications, published by them, at one-half the usual price; and the larger publications, to Auxiliary Societies and Subscribers generally, at a reduction of *twenty-five per cent.*, for immediate payment.

Collecting Cards and Books are prepared, which the Committee will be happy to forward to their friends in the country, on application, free of expense. The Collecting Book contains an epitome of Anti-slavery information, and will be found of great service to Collectors.

AT THE

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

FOR THE ABOLITION OF

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;

HELD IN

EXETER HALL, STRAND,

ON FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1842;

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE

IN THE CHAIR;

AN abstract of the report of the Society for the past year having been read by Mr JOHN SCOBLE, and the Cash Account presented by the Treasurer; on the motion of the Right Hon. Dr S. LUSHINGTON, D.C.L., seconded by NATHAN DUNN, Esq., of the United States, it was

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY—

"That the Report which has now been read be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee. That G. W. Alexander be the Treasurer, and J. H. Tredgold the Secretary,* and the following the Committee for the year ensuing:—William Allen, Stafford Allen, William Ball, Richard Barrett, John Beaumont, Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart, Rev. James Carlile, Josiah Conder, Joseph Cooper, J. S. Elliott, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Samuel Gurney, Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M., L. C. Lecesne, Samuel H. Lucas, Right Honourable Dr Lushington, Richard Peek, Dr Thomas Price, Jacob Post, George Stacey, Henry Sterry, Henry Tuckett, Rev. John Woodwark, and Rev. John Young, A.M."

On the motion of the Right Hon. Lord CLIFFORD, seconded

* Since deceased.

by Sir George Strickland, Bart, and supported by John Scoble, Esq., it was

Resolved Unanimously—

"That this meeting deeply deplores, as a gross violation of the principles of justice, the claims of humanity, and the spirit and precepts of the gospel, the prolonged existence of slavery in British India, and the dependencies of this country in the East, whatever be its character or sanction; and earnestly calls upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the empire to unite their most active and zealous efforts for its immediate and entire abolition, and for the establishment of the right of every human being found within, or resorting to, any and all parts of the British dominions, to personal liberty and the full protection of the laws."

On the motion of the Rev. John Burnet, seconded by M. L'Istant, of Hayti, and supported by the Rev. William Garland Barrett, of Jamaica, it was

Resolved Unanimously—

"That this meeting views the continuance of the African slave-trade, especially as carried on by professedly Christian and civilised countries, with the utmost abhorrence, and cannot but regard any encouragement of this guilty traffic as reflecting the greatest dishonour on the governments which permit, and the people who sanction it. This meeting therefore renews the expression of its opinion, that the only certain means of securing the complete extinction of this traffic is to be found in the universal abolition of slavery, and earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity throughout the world, perseveringly to seek the accomplishment of this great object by the use of those means only, which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character.

"That this meeting would hold up to the just condemnation of the world, those of their countrymen who are voluntarily the holders of mines or estates worked by slaves; or who are engaged, directly or indirectly, on the coast of Africa or in foreign states, in carrying on or intentionally facilitating the operations of the slave-trade; and would urgently call on the government to institute proceedings against all such persons, known to be residing within the jurisdiction of the British courts.

"That this meeting, in view of the appalling facts laid before parliament, regards with alarm the contemplated removal of the restrictions laid on the export of Indian labourers to Mauritius, as well as the insidious project, now the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, of peopling the West India colonies with native Africans, involving as it does the renewal by this country, and the extension by others, of the iniquities of the slave-trade; and expresses its firm conviction, that neither the legislature nor the people of this country will ever permit so unrighteous a plan to be realised."

On the motion of JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., seconded by the Rev. EBENEZER MILLER, of Rotterdam, it was

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY—

"That this meeting regards with deep interest the enlightened efforts and noble sacrifices of the abolitionists of the United States of America, in the sacred cause of human freedom; and, whilst it sympathises with them in their struggles, heartily rejoices in the more extensive prevalence, and in the certain and not far distant triumph of their principles; and publicly renews the offer of its warm and steady co-operation.

"That this meeting rejoices in the restoration of the Amistad captives to their native land, through the zealous and Christian exertions of the friends of humanity and freedom, and in the triumph of law over despotism; that it equally rejoices in the escape of the slaves of the Creole from a cruel and interminable bondage in the slave states of America, by seeking refuge in a British colony; and would record its high approbation of the noble sentiments of the great legal authorities of this country on the subject, and the prompt decision of the government in ordering the release of those in custody.

"That this meeting feels assured the British government will utterly and for ever repudiate any and all demands that may be made upon it, for the restoration of the Creole negroes, and all other slaves who may have sought refuge within its territories, or for compensation to their oppressors for their loss.

"That, renewing its decided protest against the recognition of Texas by the government of this country, as deeply affecting the liberty and happiness of mankind, this meeting views the renewed project of its annexation to the United States as involving the questions of peace and war between nations now at amity—the introduction of slavery into countries not now subject to its curse—and the increased preponderance of the slave-holding party in the government of the great North American republic; and earnestly calls upon the philanthropists of that country to use their most active and persevering exertions to prevent a calamity so fatal in its consequences to the welfare of mankind.

"That this meeting further rejoices to learn the progress of the anti-slavery cause on the continent of Europe, and trusts that the number and power of its advocates will rapidly increase, until the governments under which they live shall no longer be able to resist their influence, and shall, without an exception, decree the extinction of slavery in the various countries and dependencies subject to their control; and, finally, that this meeting cordially invites the correspondence and co-operation of the friends of freedom throughout the world with this Society, in carrying its great design speedily and peacefully into execution."

On the motion of the Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB, of Jamaica, seconded by the Lord Bishop of NORWICH, it was

Resolved Unanimously—

"That this meeting feels that it has not only cause for devout gratitude to the Most High, that the act for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was carried into effect under circumstances which reflected the greatest honour on the negroes delivered from bondage thereby, but for warm congratulation that it has been followed by a rapid and vast improvement in their physical and moral condition; and that, if not interfered with by unjust legislation, by the partial administration of justice, and by the schemes of interested and unprincipled men, it cannot fail to result in the increased and permanent prosperity of these colonies, and greatly to advance the interests of the mother country.

"That this meeting, whilst sincerely desirous that the interests of the proprietary body of the colonies may be advanced by all fair and legitimate means, will continue to oppose all schemes of theirs at variance with justice and humanity, all laws oppressive in their character, and all practices designed to coerce labour under a state of freedom.

"That, grateful for past success, this meeting desires afresh to commend the anti-slavery efforts to the divine blessing, and exhorts its supporters everywhere to increased activity in this righteous cause."

On the motion of William Allen, Esq., seconded by the Rev. William Knibb, it was

Resolved Unanimously—

"That the most cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to the Most Noble the Marquis of Clanricarde, for kindly accepting the chair; and for his readiness on this and all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom."

REPORT.

LIKE every other great and good work which depends for its success on the force of Christian principles, and enlightened public sentiment, the Anti-slavery cause has had its difficulties to encounter, and its triumphs to record, during the past year. In meeting the friends of that cause on the present occasion, the Committee express their unwavering confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth over error—of righteousness over injustice—of liberty over slavery; and, commending it to the watchful care, the warm sympathy, the active efforts, of the friends of humanity in this country, and, above all, to the Divine blessing to crown it with ultimate success, they proceed very briefly to narrate the most material events connected with its history since they last assembled together.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

The slave-trade, so far as its movements can be traced in official and other authentic documents, is but little diminished in its extent. The markets for human beings are still open—the traffic is carried on with great activity—the profits are immense; and it is found that, just in proportion to the vigour of the means used for its forcible suppression, is the ingenuity of its abettors successfully exercised in carrying it on, and the miseries and mortality of its victims fearfully increased. Cuba and the Brazils are, at the present time, the largest markets for the sale of slaves; and thither a vast multitude of these wretched beings—principally of the male sex, in the prime of their existence—are annually transferred from the

continent of Africa, to replace those who have miserably perished under the oppressions of the slave systems of those countries.

The ravages of the slave-trade are not confined to the western coast of Africa, for the supply of the slave-markets on both the American continents and the West Indies—the eastern coast suffers also; thence slaves are transported to the Brazils, and to the states bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, through which they find their way into various parts of the east, and even into the British territories in Hindostan. From Northern Africa slaves are shipped for the markets in the Levant and Constantinople, where they find a ready sale. The negro states on the borders of Egypt supply that country with wretched beings of the same class. To glut the rapacity of the more civilised portions of the earth, Africa is still compelled annually to yield up an immense number of her children, who are forced into exile and slavery.

If, in consequence of the difficulties to be overcome in procuring and bringing cargoes of human beings to market, the profits of the slave-buyer are less than formerly, those of the slave-seller are greater, and his incentives to pursue his criminal undertakings multiplied.

The treaties which have hitherto been negotiated by this country with foreign powers, for the suppression of this great iniquity, however honourably designed, have, with few exceptions, been flagrantly broken. Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils, have long been under the most solemn engagements to terminate the disgraceful traffic; but the bad faith of these powers has only led to years of painful diplomatic remonstrance and negociation, without lessening the evil to any great extent. At the present moment Spain is unable, even if she were willing, to fulfil her obligations. Deriving an immense revenue from her colonies, in part from the slave-trade, and threatened with revolt if she listen to the demands of the British government, she hesitates to fulfil her treaties,

and to vindicate her own laws and character from the foul dishonour cast upon them. Portugal, without the shadow of a pretence, save her poverty, and consequent inability to keep up her colonial establishments in Africa without it, refuses to carry her treaties for the extinction of the slave-trade into effect; except under such limitations and restrictions as the British government cannot and will not sanction. Brazil is retrograding: her treaties are a dead letter: her authorities connive at the illicit introduction of slaves into all parts of the country: and the greatest efforts are made, by some of her leading men, to repeal the laws of the empire which make that introduction criminal, and give force to her treaties with Great Britain. Against this flagrant act, the British government has earnestly, and hitherto successfully, protested, as a gross violation of her engagements. France refuses to ratify the very treaty which, in conjunction with this country, she proposed to the other great powers of Europe, from the jealousy of her people that England aims, under the cover of philanthropy, at maritime supremacy and the degradation of her flag. The United States peremptorily refuses to enter into any treaty, with any power, for the suppression of the slave-trade; and even threatens war if the right of search, in its most qualified sense, be insisted on by the British government. Several of the South American States are temporising; and one of them, Monte Video, has actually evaded her treaty stipulations by importing native Africans into her territory under the name of colonists.

What lies at the root of all this hostility, opposition, and tergiversation, on the part of kingdoms and republics, both in the Old and New World, in reference to the benevolent and generous exertions of Great Britain to destroy this evil? The Committee reply in one word — SLAVERY! and they feel confident that until that mighty evil be extinguished— until the market for slaves be broken up—it is vain to hope for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The flags at present employed in covering this traffic, on the western coast of Africa, are the Portuguese, the United States, and the Spanish. Occasionally, the flags of Brazils, Monte Video, France, Sweden and Hamburgh, are used for the same purpose. On the eastern coast, we find the flags of Portugal and Brazil, with the occasional assistance of others. The flags of different Arab chiefs, also, are at present devoted to the same infamous trade. On the northern coast, the Sardinian, Greek, Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman flags, cover the traffic to the Levant and Turkey; and it must be confessed that, although the flag of Great Britain is not prostituted in the same way, her merchants generally, as well as those of the United States, residing in slave-holding and slave-trading countries, or who trade to the coast of Africa, furnish the means, either in capital or goods, by which no small part of this dreadful commerce in mankind is carried on.

In the ports of the United States, slavers are built and fitted out with a full knowledge of the purposes to which they are to be devoted. In those of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, they are also openly prepared for their guilty voyages. Consuls, governors, and captains' general; ambassadors, ministers of state, and subordinate officers; have hitherto showed no reluctance in availing themselves of the splendid bribes offered them for assisting or conniving at the prosecution of this revolting trade. In fact, it appears that treaties are made only to be broken; that laws are enacted only to be violated; and that Great Britain has stood almost alone in the sincerity of her efforts to suppress the slave-trade, and in the generous —the almost incredible sacrifice of treasure and of life to accomplish her noble purpose. She has, however, toiled and sacrificed in vain: her cruizers on the coast of Africa, and elsewhere, have not been seconded, to any extent, by those of other powers with whom she is in treaty, and if she has driven the trade from one part of the coast it has sprung up in another. "Under such circumstances," then, to use the language

of the late Secretary for the Colonies—"under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would be scarcely possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for the purpose. It is an evil that can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

If it be asked—How is the evil to be overcome? the Committee answer again—by the universal abolition of slavery, to promote which great object this Society has been established.

The Committee now proceed to call attention to the home and foreign operations of the Society during the past year.

HOME OPERATIONS.

The first subject in point of importance which has engaged the attention of the Committee has been

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

It will be recollected that last year the Committee announced the gratifying fact that the long-tried friend of the Anti-slavery cause, Dr Lushington, had, at their solicitation, undertaken to bring the question of slavery in the eastern part of the British Empire, and its dependencies, under the consideration of the House of Commons. Circumstances, however, over which that honourable gentleman had no control, prevented him from doing so; and at the close of the session he retired from a position in parliament, which he had so long, so usefully, and so honourably occupied. The Committee are convinced that the friends of the Anti-slavery cause generally will unite with them in the expression of their deep regret that it has lost the public services of so distinguished an advocate; and would cherish the hope that others may be raised up who, with equal sincerity and zeal, ability and eloquence, shall plead the cause and defend the rights of the suffering and oppressed.

During the election which followed the late dissolution of parliament, the committee actively exerted themselves in diffu-

sing information on slavery in India among the electors, and specially called the attention of all candidates for seats in the House of Commons to the same subject. They followed this up by a memorial to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, which was presented to him by a large deputation, composed of members of the committee and friends from the country, in which they laid before him the condition and the claims of the Indian slave. Subsequently to this interview, a deputation from the committee waited on Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, and now Governor-general of India, but found that whilst the subject had not escaped the attention of the prime minister and his colleague, no plan had been matured for securing the object desired. They next turned their attention towards the House of Commons for the purpose of securing the assistance of hon. members in bringing the case before parliament, and hoped that, as soon as the excitement connected with the great political questions of the day had subsided, the cry of the slave for deliverance would have been heard. In the mean time the report of the law commissioners of India and other important documents, on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade in that part of our dominions, have been printed by the House of Commons, and carefully analysed by the Committee. The case is therefore ripe for discussion; and they trust they will soon be able to announce that some hon. member is prepared to move that slavery, in whatever form it may exist, in any part of the British Empire, shall be immediately and for ever abolished. It is, perhaps, due to the law commissioners and the late Governor-general of India to state that, although differing very widely in opinion on some points, they unite in various rules and regulations being necessary to mitigate the state of slavery with a view to its ultimate abolition. Lord Auckland, especially, recommends the enactment of a law to diminish the authority and control of the master over his slave, but none of them contemplate its immediate and entire extinction.

SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

The existence of slavery in Ceylon has long been a subject under the consideration of government, and measures have from time to time been suggested to the authorities of that island, with a view to its abolition; but into these measures none of the successive governors appear to have entered with a sincere desire to accomplish that object. In consequence of this state of things the Committee felt it to be their duty to urge on the attention of the late colonial secretary, Lord John Russell, the necessity of immediately issuing an order in council (Ceylon being a crown colony) for its entire abolition. In reply to their suggestion, they were informed by him that the governor of that colony had been called upon "to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in Ceylon, with an expression on the part of his lordship of his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein." What steps may have been taken in consequence, the Committee are not at present able to report.

The Committee also memorialised the late Board of Control on the existence of slavery in Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley, pointing out its deplorable character, and the fact of a slave-trade of an atrocious nature having grown up with it. They pointed out also that slavery in these settlements had not even the plea of a legal existence, and ought, therefore, to be immediately terminated. Their memorial has been transmitted by the government to the Governor-general of India, and they trust they will soon be able to report that their wishes have been complied with.

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The Committee have watched with intense interest the progress of emancipation in the West India colonies, and are happy to report that the general good conduct of the emancipated slaves continues to be deserving of the highest praise. It is evident, from the united testimony of the authorities in the colonies, that they are rapidly advancing in intelligence, moral excellence, and, in some instances, in wealth. There are, how-

ever, the Committee regret to say, many circumstances existing which prevent the full development of the system of free-labour, and, consequently, the general prosperity of the colonies. The want of confidence exhibited by the proprietors of estates or their agents towards the negroes, and the attempt to coerce labour under a system of freedom, by adjusting a scheme of rents for huts and provision grounds of the most vicious, unreasonable, and oppressive character, and by combinations to reduce the price of labour below its fair and just level, has led to such results as might have been anticipated; the negroes have withheld labour where they could, and have sought refuge from oppression by the purchase of land for themselves. The state of the law and its administration has also had an evil effect. The Committee, however, are happy to say that, in this respect, much has been done by the home government to soften the rigour and remove the inequalities of the law which recently existed, yet much remains to be done; and they are satisfied that nothing short of a thorough revision of the whole mass of colonial enactments, or rather their supersession by one uniform code of laws, and a re-construction of the courts of judicature, will meet the demands of justice or secure, permanently and efficiently, the rights of persons and of property. Another disturbing cause has been the want of capital to secure labour, or to pay for it regularly and punctually; but for this, cultivation would have been extended in various quarters, and much valuable produce would have been saved from destruction. Another cause which has operated unfavourably has been bad management. By this the Committee mean that the same unbending sternness and violence of manner which characterised the planters during the period of slavery, when the power of the lash was in their hands, has been allowed to actuate their conduct, in too many instances, under the new system. This has begotten opposition and contests, which have always ended to the disadvantage of the estates. But wherever fairness and honesty, tact and good humour,

have taken the place of violence and deceit, they have been met by corresponding efforts on the part of the negroes to advance the interests of their employers. It may now be considered an established fact, that where the greatest liberality has been manifested there the greatest success has been obtained, and the expenses of cultivation most reduced. The Committee are gratified in being able to state that, with the exception of Demerara, the crops in the colonies generally, for the present and the ensuing year, promise to be much larger than any since the freedom of the negroes has been established. This arises from a better understanding existing between the employers and the labourers, and from the colonies having been blessed recently with more favourable seasons than for several years past, during which droughts, of almost unparalleled duration, destroyed large portions of the crops.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

A great but, as the Committee believe, a fictitious demand for labour has arisen in the colonies. This has led to various schemes of immigration, both of a public and private nature, which have resulted in a large expenditure of money, and a vast waste of human life. Against these schemes they have earnestly protested; and have used their best exertions to limit their extension where they could not prevent them altogether. The Committee are by no means opposed to the spontaneous emigration of free persons to the British Colonies, nor to the unchecked circulation of labour among the colonies themselves; but they have felt it to be their duty, on grounds of humanity, to oppose the emigration of Europeans to them as field labourers, and to warn their countrymen against the delusions attempted to be practised on them by interested men. The melancholy result in the sacrifice of human life, of those who were duped, the Committee lament to say, far exceeded their fearful anticipations; and will, they trust, prove a beacon of warning in future to the unwary.

The Committee have also opposed the immigration of Coolies, or other Indian labourers, into Mauritius, on the various grounds set forth in their memorials to government, petitions to parliament, and the pamphlets they have circulated on the subject. Feeling the great importance of this subject, they obtained an interview by deputation with the present Colonial Secretary; and though they received from Lord Stanley every assurance that, should the measure be carried into effect, every regulation should be adopted to prevent the recurrence of the frightful evils which formerly took place, they are satisfied that, to use the language of Lord Auckland, late Governor-general of India, "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty and from their utter ignorance and inexperience."

But, great as are the objections which the Committee feel to the emigration of Europeans and Indian labourers to the colonies, their objection to the peopling of them by the natives of Africa is, if possible, still greater; because, in their opinion, it involves the renewal of the slave-trade by this country, and the inevitable extension of it by others. Free emigration from Africa is, they believe, utterly hopeless; but the Committee beg to refer, for their general reasons against it, to a short paper they have drawn up and circulated throughout the country on this important subject, entitled "Emigration from Africa to the West Indies." At the present time there is a parliamentary inquiry going forward, the object of which is to ascertain the feasibility of the proposed scheme. The Committee are watching the progress of this inquiry with deep solicitude, and earnestly call upon their friends to be prepared to resist any measure the effect of which shall be, directly or indirectly, to give a new impetus and vigour to the African slave-trade.

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE LABOUR.

In the prosecution of their labours, the Committee have felt it to be their duty to draw the attention of the President of the Board of Trade to the importance of admitting the produce of free labour, come from what country it may, into full competition with that from the British Colonies generally; to the necessity of reducing the duties on free labour sugar, so as to increase its consumption by diminishing its price; and to the propriety of relieving West Indian commerce from the restrictions which impede its full development and prosperity. These measures, coupled with a really spontaneous immigration, the Committee are persuaded would have the effect of securing an ample supply of tropical production, at moderate prices, to the people of this country; would increase the revenue, and enable the British planter to compete with the slave-holder in other markets than his own. In support of these views, a deputation from the Committee waited upon the Earl of Ripon, and had a long interview with him and his colleague, Mr Gladstone, to whom, as well as to Lord Stanley, they subsequently submitted their views on the subject of immigration into the West Indies.

BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN STATES.

In their last report the Committee referred to the painful circumstance that British subjects, both at home and abroad, were deeply implicated as the holders of slaves and the abettors of the slave-trade in foreign states. Subsequently to that period they presented a petition to the House of Lords, setting forth at large the facts that had come within their knowledge on the subject; and asked for a committee of inquiry for the purpose of proving them, and for the extension of the laws, if they were not found sufficiently comprehensive for the punishment of all persons so engaged. In an elaborate speech delivered by Lord Brougham, on the presentation of the petition, he gave a luminous exposition of the state of the law relative to the slave-trade; and demonstrated the illegality of most of the

cases referred to. That speech the Committee printed for general distribution. It is understood that the government have not finally decided upon the course it will be proper for them to pursue to prevent such disgraceful proceedings in future. They believe, however, there is no indisposition on the part of the present administration to do what may be necessary to secure the great ends contemplated by the slave-trade abolition act.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS.

UNITED STATES.

At the last anniversary of the society, the Committee announced that their devoted friend Joseph Sturge had felt it to be his duty to proceed to the United States on an anti-slavery mission. After spending some months in that country in various useful and laborious engagements, which the Committee believe have tended greatly to advance the cause of the slave and to strengthen the bonds of union between the abolitionists of the two countries, he returned hither to renew his labours in promoting the great general object of this society. The particulars of his interesting tour in the United States have been given to the public in a volume entitled "A Visit to the United States." From this publication, and from the information subsequently derived from that country, it is quite clear that whatever division of opinion may have prevented unity of action among the friends of the Anti-slavery cause, their principles are rapidly advancing, and their ultimate success certain. The recent debates and collisions in Congress on the right of petition, in its relation to slavery and its kindred subjects, has awakened the public mind to the enormous power of the pro-slavery party in the legislature and government of the country, and its injurious influence on public liberty, and has begotten a spirit of resistance in the free states which cannot be controlled. Indications that the crisis of the Anti-slavery cause is not far distant are not wanting, and its friends are full of confi-

dence that the issue will be in favour of the freedom of the slave.

The Mendian Africans, so long the objects of deep interest to the abolitionists of the United States and of this country, are safely arrived at Sierra Leone on their way to their families and homes. The Committee feel it to be their duty to record their gratitude to the Earl of Aberdeen, for the interest he has taken in their welfare, and for the reception given to them by the authorities of that colony.

The Committee are happy to state that the slaves of the "Creole," an American vessel brought into one of the Bahama Islands under circumstances of an extraordinary character, are now in possession of complete freedom. Nineteen of the number stood charged with mutiny and murder, but these have been discharged out of custody by order of the government. Thus by the mere fact of touching the free soil of one of the distant dependencies of this country, one hundred and thirty five human beings, destined to interminable bondage in the slave states of America, have become possessed of the rights and immunities of free men. To the great legal authorities who may be said to have given judgment in their case in the House of Lords, and to the government, the thanks of the friends of freedom and humanity are due for the course they have pursued in this important affair. One thing only remains to be done by the Queen's ministers; and that is, peremptorily to resist the demand of the United States' government for compensation for the loss of these slaves.

It appears that the old and favourite project of the slaveholders of the United States, to annex the republic of Texas to the Union, is again to be attempted, but the Committee trust only to be defeated. They deeply lament that Her Majesty's present advisers are ready to confirm the treaties with that country, entered into by the late government, though not yet ratified; and would hope that, if it be not too late, the subject may be re-considered, and that the great question of human

liberty may be held paramount to mere commercial advantage, if indeed any advantage can ultimately be derived from wrong-doing.

BRAZILS.

At the suggestion of several devoted friends of this Society, Mr and Mrs Pilkington, towards the close of the year 1839, proceeded to the Brazils for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into various matters connected with the system of slavery, as existing in that country, and the extent and character of the slave-trade.

From the valuable information collected by him it appears that nearly ONE MILLION of slaves had been introduced into that empire during a period of little more than seven years previous to his arrival—that British subjects were deeply implicated in the slave-trade—that the Brazilian mining companies had their mines wrought principally by slaves, a considerable number of whom were purchased from slavers direct from the coast of Africa; and that their condition, especially in reference to punishments and want of all means of education, was such as to reflect the greatest disgrace on the directing share-holders of these companies with, the Committee regret to say, but few honourable exceptions; and that the general condition of the slave population of that country was extremely wretched and fearfully degraded.

During their sojourn in the Brazils, Mr and Mrs Pilkington circulated several thousand anti-slavery publications, and were instrumental in awakening a deep interest in the minds of many persons in the condition of the slave. Though in the present circumstances of the Brazils there is much to discourage the friends of abolition, there are also some indications of the progress of the cause of humanity, even there. A growing conviction of the danger connected with the importation of large masses of slaves—the better character and cheaper cost of free labour over slave labour—and the opposition of many of its distinguished men to the system of slavery, as equally unrighteous

and impolitic, lead to the hope that, whenever the present pro-slavery ministry shall be displaced, some large advances may be made in the cause of abolition.

HOLLAND.

The progress of the anti-slavery cause in Holland is, upon the whole, very encouraging. Since the last meeting of this society, anti-slavery committees have been formed at Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Groningen. At the solicitation of their friends at Rotterdam, Mr G. W. Alexander, the treasurer of this society, accompanied by Mr John Scoble, paid a visit to Holland at the close of the last year, for the purpose of intercourse with the friends of the cause there; and, during a tour through the principal cities of that country, were much gratified by the deep interest felt in the condition of the slaves in the Dutch colonies, and the many public and private opportunities afforded them of advocating their cause. Among the gratifying circumstances which have occurred, the Committee have the pleasure of stating that the Netherlands government have come to the resolution of abandoning the purchase of slaves in Africa, to recruit their military forces in their distant dependencies and colonies.

FRANCE.

The Committee have watched with more than ordinary interest the movements of their anti-slavery friends in France, during the past year, inasmuch as they believe that the example of that great country is likely to operate more widely and powerfully than that of any other, on the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world. The Committee indulged the hope, at the last anniversary of the society, that the French government would have matured a measure for terminating the existence of slavery in the colonies of France during the present sitting of the Chambers. Obstacles, however, appear to have presented themselves which have not yet been surmounted. Anxious to remove these obstacles, and to

prepare the way for an early solution of the question, the French Society for the abolition of slavery, under the presidency of the Duc de Broglie, invited the various kindred associations in Great Britain and Ireland to send representatives from their bodies to attend the public meeting of the society, proposed to be held in Paris on the 21st February last, but subsequently postponed to the 7th of March. This invitation of their friends was cheerfully responded to by this Society, as well as by the Hibernian Anti-slavery society, the Edinburgh Anti-slavery society, the Glasgow Emancipation society, and by the various Anti-slavery associations established at Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Exeter, Southampton, Oxford, Woodbridge, and Hitchin. The delegates, twenty in number, were most cordially and courteously received; and, although the original design of their friends at Paris could not be realised in the manner at first contemplated, the Committee believe that much good was effected by the presence and exertions of the English delegates, whilst in the French metropolis.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The accession of a liberal government in Spain, naturally created in the minds of the abolitionists of this country the hope that the bad faith which had, for so many years, marked the conduct of its authorities in relation to the slave-trade would have ceased; and that there would have been exhibited, on the part of those who now hold the reins of power, a sincere determination to put an end to so great an evil. As yet the Committee are not able to report officially what reply has been given to the demand of the British government for the exact fulfilment of the Spanish treaties with this country; but it is understood that the Regent either has resisted, or intends to resist, the liberation of the slaves illicitly introduced into Cuba and Porto Rico. On this point, however, the Committee trust the British government will be firm, as they are persuaded that this is the only effectual means by which they can secure the termination of the slave traffic in those colonies.

How far the new-born zeal of the authorities in Cuba, in reference to the suppression of the slave-trade, results from policy or from principle, a short time will probably show; but the Committee, with every desire to augur well of the present movement, cannot anticipate any great result to flow from it, while the government of Spain refuses to vindicate its own laws, by enforcing the liberation of all slaves illegally possessed, and thus honourably to fulfil their engagements with Great Britain.

The Committee are decidedly of opinion that in Cuba a very strong feeling of opposition to the continuance of the slave-trade exists, especially among the Creole or native population, but they regret to say that, except among a few of the most enlightened part of the community in that important colony, there appears no desire for the abolition of slavery itself.

The recent visit of Messrs G. W. Alexander and Benjamin Wiffin to Madrid, Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, and Cadiz, in the prosecution of an Anti-slavery tour, has afforded them a renewed opportunity of strengthening the hands of the friends of humanity in Spain, and of putting them in possession of information which cannot fail to be of great use to the cause of abolition in that country.

The state of the Anti-slavery question in Portugal is not a little singular and interesting. Where least was to be expected of the prevalence of just views and principles, there Messrs Alexander and Wiffen, who proceeded thither from Spain, found much to encourage them. Several individuals, distinguished by their position in society, declared themselves the friends of abolition, and were apparently much alive to the movements of the question in this country.

The Portuguese government, however, have not as yet met the just demands of this country, by crushing that branch of the slave-trade hitherto carried on so unblushingly under their flag.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

The Committee regret to say that they have no communication of interest to report of the progress of the cause of emancipation in Denmark or Sweden; they cannot believe, however, that the friends of humanity in those countries will allow the question to sleep.

AFRICA AND ASIA—TUNIS.

Turning from the continents of Europe and America, the Committee are much gratified in being able to record the fact that His Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, in northern Africa, has not only prohibited the slave-trade throughout his territories, but has emancipated the slaves which belonged to him, and is using his influence to induce his subjects generally to follow his excellent example. The friends of the abolition cause in Malta have presented to His Highness a congratulatory address on the occasion; and the Committee have felt it to be their duty to forward to him, through the medium of the British government, an address of a similar character to be presented by the Consul of this country, Sir Thomas Reade, residing there, whose successful exertions in the cause of humanity the Committee would here acknowledge. Nor can they withhold their acknowledgements from D. S. M'Cauley, Esq. and Colonel Warrington, the American and English Consuls in Tripoli, for their efforts to to secure the abolition of the slave-trade in that state.

MUSCAT.

The Committee have also the pleasure of stating that the Imaun of Muscat has recently entered into a treaty with this country to prohibit the slave-trade in his dominions both in eastern Africa and Asia; and it is not improbable that some, if not the whole, of the Arab chiefs on the borders of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, may be induced to take the same course. The number of slaves supposed hitherto to have been annually exported from the territories subject to the Imaun of Muscat, is estimated at 20,000 annually.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this summary statement connected with the progress of the abolition cause, the Committee rejoice to say that there is a manifest and rapid advance in the public mind of most countries in favour of the liberty and happiness of mankind. In Africa, on the death of their chiefs, two tribes declared themselves free. Even Russia is alive to the generous impulse, as the Committee find by the recent *Ukase* of the emperor in favour of the serfs of that country; and although he has not been able to realise all he wished, yet the gratitude of all interested in the welfare of their fellow men is due to him for what he designed, and the hope cherished that he may live to see the relics of a tyrannical age and a barbarous people swept from his vast dominions.

The Committee have now the pleasure to announce that, in accordance with the intimation already given to their friends in America and Europe, and in unison with their wishes, the next general Anti-slavery convention will be held in London, on Tuesday the 13th of June, 1843, to which the friends of the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, from all parts of the world, are cordially and respectfully invited.

Although the Committee, in the foregoing Report, have not appealed to the friends of the Anti-slavery cause generally throughout the British Empire, to aid the funds of the Society by their contributions, they feel that, looking at the nature and magnitude of the objects it has in view, the principles on which it is based, and the measure of success which has already crowned its efforts, they may very properly do so, and indulge the hope that those friends will cheerfully respond to the call. The field of Anti-slavery exertion is widening in every direction, and the necessity for increased labor becoming more and more apparent and pressing. To meet the demand thus made upon the Society is the anxious desire of its Committee;

but this can only be done by increased and liberal contributions to its funds. During the past year the Committee have had to acknowledge several generous donations from individuals, ever prompt to aid this benevolent work, but especially the munificent donation of £800, presented to the Society by the Standing Committee of the Society of Friends, from funds at their disposal.

The Committee would add, that as the General Anti-Slavery Convention, which they have summoned to meet in London in 1843, will be attended not only with great labor, but with considerable expense over and above the ordinary expenditure of the Society, they trust the aid afforded them will be proportioned thereto.

☞ *The attention of the reader is respectfully directed to the contents of the appendix.*

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—ITS EXTENT.

THE following Tables, compiled exclusively from the official papers relative to the slave-trade, presented annually to parliament, will give some idea of the enormous extent to which it is still carried on.

CUBA.

Abstract of the number of slavers which have sailed from the Port of Havana for Africa, from 1822 to 1839 inclusive, most of which have returned in safety with their cargoes of human beings—viz.

From	1822	to	1827	inclusive	138	vessels.
„	1828	to	1833	„	238	do.
„	1834	to	1839	„	382	do.
				Total	758	

The increase during the sexennial periods ending in 1833 and 1839, as compared with that ending in 1827, cannot fail to engage attention, and affords a striking proof of the increased energy and activity with which the slave-trade is prosecuted in Cuba.

As it respects the Havana, the lists furnished from year to year by the British functionaries resident there are defective, and the probability is, that many more slavers sailed for Africa from that port than are given above. On this point Her Majesty's Commissioners, in a communication to Lord Palmerston, dated Havana, 1st January, 1840, observe, "From these lists your lordship, considering especially the greater degree of accuracy than formerly to be ascribed to them, on account of the sources from which they have been obtained, might perhaps at first be led to conclude that the trade during the last year had somewhat decreased, insomuch as in 1837 and 1838 the number of vessels cleared out was seventy-one in each year, while in the last it was only fifty-nine; but we fear this decrease is to be ascribed solely to the fact of the slave-dealers removing their depôts, feeling the inconvenience of being under greater observation here than in other ports of the island, and of finding, at the same time, those other ports more contiguous to the new estates, for which the former demand for slaves continues undiminished." (Class A. further series, 1840, p. 36.)

The number of slavers which sailed from the OUT-PORTS of CUBA during the above period cannot be ascertained. Some idea, however, of the activity of the nefarious traffic in the out-ports, may be gathered from the following statements—viz. "Of forty-one cargoes of slaves brought to Cuba in 1839, it was ascertained that 18 were landed in or near Guanimar; 4 in or near Trinidad; 4 in or near Mariel; 1 in or near Puente de Guanos

1 in or near Cabanas; 2 in or near Banes; 1 in or near Cogimar; 2 in or near Santa Cruz; 5 in or near Camarioca; 2 in or near St. Jago de Cuba; and 1 in or near Cœnimar. Where the remaining cargoes were unladen could not be ascertained." (Class B. 1840, p. 50.)

The number of slaves said to have been landed in the neighbourhood of the Havana, from 1830 to 1839, both inclusive, founded on returns furnished by Her Majesty's Commissioners—viz.

From 1830 to 1834, inclusive,	159	slavers landed	48,800	slaves.
„ 1835 to 1839, „	191	ditto	71,638	ditto.
	350	vessels	120,438	slaves.

The following table shows the number of slavers which sailed from the Havana in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, for the coast of Africa, and to what flags they respectively belonged.

	1837.	1838.	1839.
Portuguese	40 vessels.	42 vessels.	26 vessels.
American	11 „	19 „	23 „
Spanish	19 „	8 „	8 „
Brazilian	— „	1 „	— „
Monte Videan	— „	— „	1 „
French	— „	1 „	— „
Swedish	1 „	— „	— „
Hamburghese	— „	— „	1 „
	71	71	59

On the 5th May, 1840, Lord Palmerston transmitted the British Commissioners' lists of vessels which had arrived at the Havana from, and sailed thence to, the Coast of Africa between the 1st July, 1839, and the 31st January, 1840. In a communication from the Commissioners at Sierra Leone to the noble lord, dated 29th July, 1840, they say, "Of the fifty vessels mentioned in these lists, there have been condemned here the following: 1, the *Dos Amijos*, in September 1839; 2, the *Victoria* and *Josefina*, in October 1839; 3, the *Fortuna*, *Lavendeira*, and *Magdelina*, in December 1839; 2, the *Lark* and *Asp*, in March 1840; and 1, the *Octavia*, in June 1840;" besides which "The *Butterfly*, under American colours, was also seized by one of her Majesty's cruizers, the Brigantine *Dolphin*, and has lately been condemned at New York for her connexion with the slave-trade."

"From the reports of the Havana Commissioners it appears that *two* only of the vessels named by them were employed in an unquestionably lawful manner—viz., the American schooner *Mary*, and the Spanish brig *Augusta*, leaving forty-eight vessels, of all sizes, as the number known in the port of Havana connected with the slave-trade, for the seven months named by the Commissioners, of the fate of one-fifth only of which we are at present informed." (Class A., Slave-trade Papers, 1840, p. 145.)

NOTE.—From the periodical reports of the Commissioners at the Havana, it appears that forty-seven slavers sailed from that port between the 1st January and the 31st October, 1840, of which 31 were Portuguese, 9 American, 6 Spanish, and 1 French. These returns, however, are very inaccurate. The probability is that at least sixty left the Havana alone on

slave-trading adventures, during the first ten months of 1840. (Class A. Slave-trade Papers, 1840, pp. 284, 285.)

Extract of an important communication received in January, 1842, from a distinguished individual residing at the Havana, on the best means of suppressing the slave-trade.

"The oldest and strongest portion of the Spanish mercantile marine is devoted to this piratical employment. From the various ports of the island, and from some of those of the Peninsular, more especially from Cadiz and Barcelona, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty vessels are annually dispatched to the coast of Africa. On the average, about forty enter the port of Havana, twenty at Matanzas, and about forty between Trinidad and Santiago de Cuba. They measure from seventy to five hundred tons each, and carry from two hundred to eight hundred negroes in the confined space or 'tween decks prepared for the purpose. About 20 per cent. of the cargoes perish on the average in the course of the middle passage. But this loss is of small pecuniary consideration, if we reflect that the nett profit on a shipment of five hundred negroes, landed in the island, may be estimated at from 120,000 to 130,000 dollars at the least, the original cost not having been more than 35,000 or 40,000 dollars. In Africa the factors or captains pay from 50 to 60 dollars a head for the negroes, according to the place where the purchase is made, and the state of the market at the time; whereas, in the Havana they are sold in the Barracoons at from 340 to 360 dollars; and although the sale is on a credit of six or twelve months, yet interest on that interval is always charged at the rate of from 9 to 12 per cent. per annum."

Sir Fowell Buxton in his work, "The Slave-trade and its Remedy," computes the annual importation of slaves into Cuba at 60,000, and into Puerto Rico 7,000, together 67,000. This may probably be too high a sum; yet when the known decrease in the slave population of the Spanish Colonies, by deaths over births, which at the lowest point is reckoned to be 5 per cent. per annum, is considered in connexion with the rapid increase by importations, the latter must at least reach 50,000 per annum; and the demand continues unabated. "Of the great demand for negroes," say Her Majesty's Commissioners, "we cannot give a stronger proof than the fact that even Mozambique Africans, who formerly sold only for about 300 dollars per head, are now at an average of 425 dollars, while the planters continue their exertions to obtain greater quantities of sugar than ever." (Class A. 1838-9, pp. 115, 116; and Class A, further series, 1840, pp. 37, 38.)

BRAZIL.

Abstract of the number of slavers known to have landed their slaves in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro, in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, viz:—

1837	92 vessels	about 41,600 slaves
1838	84 "	" 36,974 "
1839	68 "	" 30,360 "
	244 slavers	108,934 slaves

Note:—These slavers form but a small part of the whole number which unloaded their cargoes of human beings in Brazil, during the three years

mentioned. The negroes they had on board were landed in the immediate vicinity of Rio de Janeiro. How many in addition were landed in the province of Rio, it is impossible to say, any more than we can collect the numbers landed in the provinces of Pernambuco, Bahia, Para, and Maranham. The departures of slavers for Africa from the three ports of Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco, from the 1st January to the 30th June, 1840, appears by the consular returns, to have been 31—viz: Rio, 18; Bahia, 9; and Pernambuco, 4. The arrivals are stated to be at Rio, 9; Bahia, 8; Pernambuco, 7; Maranham, 3; in all, 27. Number captured and condemned at Rio between 1st January and 5th July, 1840, 2 only.

Some idea, however, of the extent of the Brazilian slave-trade may be formed from the fact, that the mortality is ascertained to be in the ratio of five in the hundred, beyond the annual births. Now, taking the slave population at the low estimate of two millions, one hundred thousand negroes are annually required to keep up the strength of the gangs. In the province of Rio de Janeiro, there are 900 sugar estates, only fifty of them are worked by machinery; in the province of Bahia, there are 650 sugar estates, upon only 150 is machinery used; and in the province of Pernambuco there are 500 sugar works, sixty of which are worked by water, and two by steam—manual labor is therefore in great request; and none but blacks have yet been found equal to the cultivation of the sugar cane. The Brazilian planters, whatever may be said to the contrary, deem it of vital importance to import "African slaves without restraint." For the proof of this, the reader is referred to a memorial presented to the deputes in 1839, urging the repeal of the laws which interdict the free importation of slaves into Brazil. In that document, the provincial assembly of Bahia say, "Brazil, accustomed for nearly three centuries to employ slaves, and to be supplied with them, as an annual provision from Africa, paid little attention to the encouragement of their progressive increase by re-production; in the view that from this increase such annual supply might be dispensed with, and by such means, whilst the free trade in slaves continued, the country should never want hands to keep up and feed the husbandry of the soil." The assembly then admit the existence of the contraband slave trade in defiance of the law, and the treaty with England; and then urge the abrogation of the law which prohibits the introduction of slaves, on the ground that a transgression so immoral and deceitful may be obviated, an evil which Providence alone, whom we supplicate, can in some measure lessen. They urge the repeal with great earnestness, as the prosperity of the produce depends on the culture of the sugar cane, which mainly constitutes its richness and opulence, and from which the state draws great revenues. (Class B, 1840, p. 294.)

The British Consul at Pernambuco, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated the 7th July, 1839, states that after the utmost diligence of inquiry, and vigilance of research, he could not arrive at a correct knowledge of the facts relating to the slave-trade in that province, in consequence of the manner in which they are impenetrably veiled and disguised by the artful combinations of all those who are either directly or indirectly interested in the traffic of African slaves.

In reference to the province of Para, the Consular Agent, Mr. Cowper, says, "It is impossible to obtain anything like a correct account of the number of slaves, which are imported into the northern provinces of Brazil. *It is undoubted that* HALF *of the whole quantity smuggled into the empire, are brought to them*; this arises from sundry causes—First, the want of population—which, secondly, renders them the best markets for slaves; and lastly, from the great facilities offered to smugglers by the many tributaries of the Amazon." (Class B further series 1840, p. 137.)

From these notices, we gather that the slave-trade of the Brazil is enormous. Sir Fowell Buxton observes on this point, "I should conjecture that the real amount would be moderately rated at 100,000 (slaves) brought annually into the five Brazilian ports. Others who have long been in the Brazils, give it as their opinion that 130,000 are annually introduced into that Empire: that is, nearly a million every seven or eight years.

List of places on the Eastern and Western Coasts of Africa, at which 83 slavers took in their cargoes of human beings, and subsequently landed them in the neighbourhood of Rio and Pernambuco—viz: Quilemane, 12 cargoes; Inhambane, 1; Mozambique, 6; Cabinda, 5; Zaine, 4; Benzuela, 9; Ambriz, 1; unknown, 1; Angola, 44—total 83.

LEVANT.

Extract of a letter from Colonel Warrington, Her Majesty's Consul at Tripoli, to Sir H. Grey, Chief Secretary to the Government at Malta, dated Tripoli, 22nd July, 1840.

"The Turks have the greatest facility for transporting black slaves to the Levant, in their vessels returning without cargo, which tends to increase the trade. The export of slaves from the port of Tripoli, may be computed at 3,000 annually. The demand for them has increased considerably, inasmuch as they now sell from 50 to 100 dollars each, and the women from 100 to 110; whereas, in the time of Yousef Bashaw, the average price was from 30 to 40 dollars." (Class D. Slave-trade Papers, 1840, p. 19.)

From the correspondence of the American Consul, D. S. M'Cauley, Esq., with Sir E. Lyons, at Athens, dated Bengazi, 3rd August, 1840, it appears that slaves are transported from the Coast of Barbary by Greek vessels "to an incredible extent." The participation of the Greek marine in this detestable traffic has, to use the language of this gentlemen, "become a matter of established custom." He goes on to observe, that "although the Bey has given to me his promise that he will do all in his power for the future to prevent Ottoman subjects from shipping slaves by Christian vessels—and I shall propose the same pledge to the Bashaw upon my return to Tripoli; yet it will be useless to expect any great faith or vigilance on their part to suppress a trade in which they themselves are frequently interested, and in which exorbitant profits offer the most tempting inducements to engage;" and he adds, "in my opinion this trade can only be effectually exterminated by the occasional visit of men-of-war with the right of search, and the appointment by His Hellenic Majesty, of active and energetic Consuls-general, for each of the states of Barbary, who will closely watch, under instructions from the government, the departure of vessels under the flag." (Class D. Slave-trade Papers, 1840, pp. 11, 12.)

From the correspondence of Sir Thomas Reade, Her Majesty's Consul at Tunis, with Mr. Backhouse of the Foreign Office, under date the 9th June, and the 15th October, 1840, it appears that the Tuscan, Russian, Greek, and Ottoman flags, cover the slave-trade between that port and Constantinople. The negroes are embarked, however, not as slaves, but as "passengers;" and it would appear that the Dutch, Sardinian, and Imperial Consulates despatch the vessels engaged in this odious traffic. Subsequently, however, to the above date, it is understood that the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, under the strong representations made to him by Sir Thomas Reade, has taken measures to break up the slave markets at Tunis, and to prevent the further export of slaves from the territories under his control. (Class D. Slave-trade Papers, 1840, pp. 21 to 24.)

ASIA.

To India and Arabia, as to many other parts of the world, Africa has long been the great source of supply for foreign labor—the hives from which slaves have been driven forth in swarms, and exported to different countries for the benefit of others. The Eastern Coast from Delagoa Bay to Mussowa and Suakim is of course that which has supplied slaves to the Red Sea, Arabia, Persia, and India; besides those which were heretofore, if they are not still, sent to the French Islands; and beside numbers which are supplied to North and South America, and the West Indies.

Dr. Mackenzie having received answers from the agents at Muscat and Shargah, relative to the alleged outrage (of the Joasmees, who had carried off from the coast of Barbarah 233 girls, and sold them for slaves at Rasul-Khyma, one of the Joasmee ports,) reported to the Bombay Government, that although it was not brought home to the Joasmees, a disgraceful traffic was carried on not only by them, but by every port of consequence in the Persian Gulf; and he instanced one act committed by the subjects of the Chief of Rowah, who had carried off persons of a low tribe, the Soomalees, into slavery.

Captain Brucks, Indian Navy, Commodore at Surat, reports that at Porebunder (a port in Kattywar), there appears to be on an average, five boats, which annually proceed to the coast of Africa, and the island of Zanzibar, for purposes of trade. In each of these boats, on the return voyage, there is generally brought from six to eight slaves.

There is also a considerable traffic with Arab vessels from both Gulfs, and the coast of Africa. In all these slaves are imported.

The next place is Mangalore. This port sends one or two boats to Zanzibar, and the same remarks apply to it as to Porebunder.

Verrowal, a very large town, under the government of the Jownaghur Nawaub, has a considerable trade with both Gulfs and Zanzibar, and from the information obtained, numbers of slaves are brought in here, as well as other ports in the Nawaub territory. A town called Patton, near it also, is a place where slaves may be, and it is believed, are landed. Diu is a Portuguese settlement, between which and Mozambique, on the coast of Africa, is a regular trade. Four to six brigs are constantly employed in this trade, besides occasionally an additional vessel. In all these, slaves are imported to that place on the return voyage.

The other ports on this coast, from Diu to Tullodjea, it is believed have a part in this trade, as well as the coast of Okamundal, and the various places on the Gulf of Cutch.

Mandavie has much traffic in slaves, and a very large portion of these slaves, there is no doubt are imported into the British territory clandestinely.

Sir A. Burnes reports that into the territories of the Rao of Cutch "no slaves are imported, except 400 or 500 negroes from Zanzibar;" and, states that "the Rao had issued a penal proclamation towards suppressing the slave trade. The same officer draws the attention of Government to the extent of the Muscat slave-trade, and the Imaum's encouragement of it; which he asserts has the effect of intimidating the Rao, lest the commercial prosperity of Cutch should be injured by the Imaum taking umbrage at it."

Mr. Willoughby, when Political Agent at Rajcote (Kattywar), found that much trade was carried on at all the ports of Kattywar, and even more in those of Cutch. The slaves are imported chiefly from Muscat, and various ports in Arabia and Scinde, and brought into Kattywar from Cutch. The trade is conducted chiefly by the Budalla and Curwa Castes, who frequent the ports, and contract to navigate vessels for shipowners (who drive a trade with Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and Africa) at a fixed rate for the voyage, together with a portion of private tonnage. By this means, they were enabled to import slaves, for whom a ready market is always found among the Chiefs, Rajpoots, Mussulmans, and Katty. The places to which they chiefly resort for slaves are Mokha, Judda, Maculla, Sohal, &c. The majority of slaves are males. Stout healthy boys of eight or nine sell for about 40 rupees, increasing to a certain age, and then diminishing. At Rajcote, tractable, fine youths fetch from 80 to 100 rupees; those of average quality about 60. Females are dearer, being sought as wives by the poorer classes of Scindees and other Mahommedans, as cheaper than wives of their own caste. The demand for African boys in Cutch, Mr. Willoughby assures us, is very great. At Mandavie there are 800 houses of the Budalla and Curwa Castes. The importation from Arabia thither is on a great scale; and they are thence brought into Kattywar, whence slave-dealers clandestinely transport them to Guzzerat, and all parts of Hindostan. The slave-trade is also carried on with the port of Diu, belonging to the Portuguese, where a great number of African boys are to be seen.

Mr. Le Mesurier, Advocate-General at Bombay, observes, "The slave traffic in the Asiatic States as well as European, is notorious, and (he says) I suppose that the commercial prosperity of many of these states may also depend in a great measure upon their slave traffic and system of slavery."

Mr. A. Malet, First-assistant Commissioner in Charge, states that "slaves of both sexes from Arabia, Scinde, &c. are brought to the Bunders (Ports of Umrelie and Okamundal) for sale."

Mr. W. H. Wathen, Chief Secretary, Bombay, remarks, "the Wadee Arabs (occupying the coast between Aden and Dofar,) carry on a considerable trade with the Suwahil, or Eastern Coast of Africa, and bring from thence numbers of negro slaves, whom they dispose of at the various porst in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf."

Up to the year 1840, it does not appear that the traffic was much, if at all diminished by the various measures which had been resorted to for its suppression in the East, for we find Mr. Willoughby, Secretary to Government, Bombay, in a communication to Captain Hennell, resident in the Persian Gulf, saying, "A very considerable traffic in slaves has long been known to have been carried on, more particularly from Africa, with the Portuguese settlement of Diu, on the coast of Kattywar, with the port of Mandavie in Cutch, and with those in Scinde."

NOTE.—For further particulars relative to the Asiatic slave-trade, consult Parliamentary Papers, No. 262, 1841; on Slavery in the East Indies, pp. 173 to 187 inclusive.

No. II.

PRICE OF SLAVES.

THE diminution in the importation of slaves does not arise from a slackening in the demand for them, for in Porto Rico a newly-imported

negro used to sell for 200 dollars; the price now is 450 dollars. In Cuba such negroes sold in 1821 for 100 dollars; the price now varies from 425 to 480 dollars. In Brazil a newly-imported negro used to sell for 100 milreis; the price now is 400 milreis. (Bandinel's Slave-trade, p. 288.)

No. III.

TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS OF VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA WITH GREAT BRITAIN, FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

COUNTRIES.	PERIOD OF ABOLITION.	DATE OF TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS.	RIGHT OF SEARCH, WHEN CONCEDED.	EQUIPMENT ARTICLE, WHEN AGREED TO.
Denmark	16 Mar., 1792	14 July, 1814		
		26 July, 1834	26 July, 1834	26 July, 1834
Great Britain	25 Mar., 1807			
United States	2 Mar., 1807			
Sweden	3 Mar., 1813	3 Mar., 1813		
		6 Nov., 1824	6 Nov., 1824	6 Nov., 1824
		15 June, 1835		
Netherlands..	15 Jan., 1814	4 May, 1818	4 May, 1818	
		31 Dec., 1822		
		25 Jan., 1823		25 Jan., 1823
France	30 July, 1815	30 Nov., 1831	30 Nov., 1831	
		22 Mar., 1833		22 Mar., 1833
		20 Dec., 1841		
Spain.....	30 May, 1820	28 Aug., 1814		
		23 Sept., 1817		
		10 Dec., 1822		
		28 June, 1835	28 June, 1835	28 June, 1835
Buenos Ayres	15 Nov., 1824	28 Feb., 1825		
		24 May, 1839	24 May, 1839	24 May, 1839
Columbia	18 April, 1825	18 April, 1825		
Mexico	26 Dec., 1826	26 Dec., 1826		
		14 Feb., 1841	14 Feb., 1841	14 Feb., 1841
Brazil.....	23 Nov., 1829	23 Nov., 1826	23 Nov., 1826	
		27 July, 1835		27 July, 1835
		27 May, 1839		
Sardinia	8 Aug., 1834	8 Aug., 1834	8 Aug., 1834	8 Aug., 1834
Portugal	17 Dec., 1836	19 Feb., 1810		
		22 Jan., 1815		
		28 July, 1817	28 July, 1817	
		11 Sept., 1817		
		15 Mar., 1823		
Hanse Towns	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837	9 June, 1837
Tuscany	24 Nov., 1837	24 Nov., 1837	24 Nov., 1837	24 Nov., 1837
Bolivia	5 June, 1837	5 June, 1837		
		25 Sept., 1840	25 Sept., 1840	25 Sept., 1840
Peru	5 June, 1837	5 June, 1837		
Naples	23 Dec., 1838	14 Feb., 1838	14 Feb., 1838	14 Feb., 1838
Hayti.....	23 Dec., 1839	23 Dec., 1839	23 Dec., 1839	23 Dec., 1839
Venezuela.. .	15 Mar., 1839	15 Mar., 1839	15 Mar., 1839	15 Mar., 1839
Chili	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839	9 July, 1839
		7 Aug., 1841		
Uruguay	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839	13 July, 1839
Texas.....	16 Nov., 1840	16 Nov., 1840	16 Nov., 1840	16 Nov., 1840
Austria	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841
Prussia	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841
Russia	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841	20 Dec., 1841

NOTES ON THE FOREGOING TABULAR STATEMENT.

GREAT BRITAIN.—On the 11th July, 1788, an act regulating the slave trade was passed after much opposition in the House of Lords. Another act was passed the 23d May, 1806 (46 Geo. III., cap. 52), for preventing the introduction of slaves into the British colonies or territories abroad. This was followed by the "act for the abolition of the slave-trade" (47 Geo. III., cap 36), which enacted, "that from and after the 1st day of May, 1807, the African slave-trade, and all manner of dealing and trading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, practised and carried on in, at, to, or from any part of the coast or countries of Africa, should be utterly abolished and unlawful," &c. On the 14th May, 1811, another act (51 Geo. III., cap. 23), was passed which made slave-trading felony. Other acts, in explanation and confirmation passed, such as 53 Geo. III., cap 92; 58 Geo. III., cap. 49; and 58 Geo. III., cap. 98. In 1819, on the 12th July of that year, another act (59 Geo. III., cap. 70), was passed to prevent the illicit importation of slaves into the colonies, by establishing a general registry of slaves in the islands, which registry should constitute the title of an owner to a slave. On the 31st March, 1824, an act (5 Geo. IV., cap. 17), was passed, which declared that any British subject concerned in carrying away from any place, or bringing into any place, any person as a slave, should be adjudged guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery; and on being "convicted thereof should suffer death, without benefit of clergy, and loss of lands, goods, and chattels, as pirates, felons, and robbers on the high seas ought to suffer." This punishment was subsequently modified, by 1 Vic., cap. 91, to transportation; the term of piracy being still by law affixed to the crime. In the same year, the 24th June, 1824, the laws relative to the slave-trade were consolidated into one act (5 Geo. IV., cap. 113), since which there has been no legislation on the subject.

THE UNITED STATES.—The first act to prohibit the slave trade was passed in the year 1794. This act declared it illegal to fit out any vessel for the purpose of carrying on the trade. This was followed by the act of 1800, declaring it unlawful for any citizen to have any property in any vessel employed in the transportation of slaves from one country to another. And by an act passed in 1807, it was declared, that after the 1st January, 1808, it should not be lawful to bring into the United States any persons as slaves. In 1820, it was declared piracy, and worthy of death, for any citizen to be engaged in the slave-trade.

FRANCE.—The treaty of the 20th December, 1841, for the suppression of the slave-trade, negotiated by France and Great Britain with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, though ratified by the last four powers, has not yet been ratified by France, though signed by its accredited ambassador to this country; Opposition to the right of search being the plea set up by the French Chambers, though that had been reciprocally granted under the treaties between Great Britain and France made in the years 1831 and 1833.

SPAIN.—Under treaties with Spain, Great Britain has acquired the right of demanding the liberation of all slaves illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies since the year of its absolute prohibition by that Power, which took place in 1820. It is understood that Great Britain has made the demand; but the precise issue of the negociations is not yet known.

COLUMBIA.—The treaty with Columbia for the suppression of the slave-trade was made in 1825, since which period it has been divided into three

distinct states—viz., New Grenada, Venezuela, and Equator. Venezuela has concluded a treaty with Great Britain, and it is understood that New Grenada and Equator will follow the example.

Brazil.—The laws of the Brazilian empire, as well as her treaties with Great Britain, forbid the illicit introduction of slaves into any part of her territories. Attempts have been made to repeal the laws which constitute slave-trading criminal, and guarantee the liberty of slaves clandestinely imported into Brazil. Against this gross violation of national justice and faith, the British government has earnestly protested; and will, no doubt, follow up the protest by a demand for the liberation of all slaves introduced in contravention of the laws of the empire and the treaties with this country.

Portugal.—The last slave-trade treaty made with Portugal was in 1823. Owing to various circumstances she was not pressed to the fulfilment of her engagements until the early part of 1832, when negotiations were renewed on the part of Great Britain; but the Portuguese government eluded all attempts to bring them to a satisfactory conclusion, until December, 1836, when the ministry issued a decree finally and entirely abolishing the slave-trade. No steps, however, were taken to give it effect. Remonstrances followed: the flag of Portugal still covered the slave-trade. So flagrant a breach of faith on the part of Portugal, determined the British government no longer to delay measures to compel, if it were necessary, that power to fulfil her obligations. A draft of a treaty was transmitted to Lisbon in July, 1838, containing stipulations absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of that purpose; and a catagorical answer was required whether Portugal would sign the treaty or not. She declined. The British government then declared that if she persisted in that refusal, she would secure the end contemplated by the "separate article" of September, 1817, without her co-operation. She persisted in her refusal. A bill was then brought into the British parliament, which passed both Houses, on the 24th August, 1839, authorising British cruisers to detain all Portuguese vessels supposed to be concerned in the slave-trade; and also authorising British vice-admiralty courts to condemn such vessels when found guilty of that act. It is now made optionable, with the Portuguese government, either to enter into treaty with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, in which case the act of the British legislature will be repealed, or to allow the British government to pursue the course marked out for it by act of parliament.

Peru.—In 1837, a slave-trade treaty was made with the confederation of Peru-Bolivia. Subsequently to this period Peru and Bolivia have separated. With the latter republic, Great Britain has a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade. Peru, at present, refuses a treaty, alleging that the constitution of the country does not authorise treaties with any other states than those of America. The real cause of this refusal, however, will be found in the effort that is now making in Peru, to obtain once more the formal admission of slaves into the republic, under a legalised slave-trade. The government of this country, however, has remonstrated against these proceedings, and holds Peru bound by the Peru-Bolivian treaty of 1837, which engaged to prohibit the slave-trade in the most effectual manner by the most solemn laws.

Austria, Prussia, and Russia.—At the congress of Vienna, on the 8th February, 1815, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, conjointly with England, France, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden, issued a declaration that the "trade is repugnant to the principles of humanity and of universal morality;" that "the public voice in all civilised countries calls aloud for its prompt

suppression;" that it was the wish of the Sovereigns, represented at that congress "to put an end to a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and afflicts humanity;" and that "no proper means of accelerating that period are to be neglected."

At the congress of Verona, on the 28th November, 1822, held by the same powers, another declaration was issued, in which they stated that they continued firm in the principles and sentiments set forth in the declaration of 1815, respecting the slave-trade; and professed that they will "eagerly enter into the examination of any measure compatible with their rights and the interests of their subjects, to produce the result which is the object of their common solicitude upon this subject."

Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were invited by Great Britain, as far back as 1814, to co-operate in the suppression of the slave-trade. In 1818 they were again applied to, when they severally expressed their willingness to make the slave-trade piracy, and to join in a common league to put it down by force, and by the consent of all civilised powers for that purpose, as soon as Portugal should have abolished it by law. In 1822 they expressed the same sentiments, and the obstacles having been removed out of the way, they have redeemed their engagements by the treaty of December, 1841, which they entered into jointly with, and at the solicitation of, Great Britain and France. By this treaty the five great powers of Europe extend the right of search from latitude 32° north to latitude 45° south, and from the longitude of the east coast of America to the 80th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, thus admitting a right of search through the Atlantic, and on the eastern as well as western coast of Africa. As in the conventions with France, made in 1831 and 1833, the ships detained are to be tried by the tribunals of the country to which they belong. If found equipped for the slave-trade, they may be condemned and broken up, unless either of the governments should take them into its service. By this treaty also, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, unite with Great Britain in declaring the slave-trade to be piracy; and all maritime powers in Europe who have not yet concluded treaties in relation to this traffic are, under this treaty, to be invited to accede to it.

The only maritime powers in Europe with whom Great Britain has no treaties at present for the suppression of the slave-trade are GREECE, BELGIUM, and HANOVER; but there is no doubt that they will shortly be induced to follow the example of the great powers of Europe in this matter. The only powers in North and South America who have not yet negotiated treaties for the same purpose are the UNITED STATES, NEW GRENADA, EQUATOR, and PERU. The three latter republics, it is believed, will soon accede to such treaties; and unless the resistance of the United States be overcome, she will stand alone in the Old and New world, as the only professedly Christian and civilised power which refuses to unite with others in a common league for the suppression of the slave-trade.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The United States, Great Britain, the Brazils, Austria, Prussia, and other states, have declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and punishable according to the respective laws of those countries as such; and every civilised power, both in Europe and America, have pronounced it highly criminal and inhuman, and subject to penalties more or less severe. Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Netherlands, France, Spain, Buenos Ayres (the Argentine Republic), Mexico, Brazil, Sardinia, Portugal, the Hanse Towns, Tuscany, Bolivia, Naples, Haiti, Venezuela, Chili, Uriguay, Texas, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, have conceded the right of search. The same powers, with the exception of Portugal, have also agreed that vessels

fitted out for the slave-trade may be captured, condemned, and broken up except when specially provided that they shall be taken into the navy of such powers as they may be found to belong to. It should be observed, however, that though the Brazilian plenipotentiaries have agreed to the equipment article, and the breaking up of vessels condemned for slave-trading, these articles have not yet been ratified by the legislature. The limits within which the right of search can be legally exercised are also less with other powers than with Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Since the year 1819 courts of mixed commission have been established at SURINAM, under treaty with the Netherlands; at RIO DE JANEIRO, under conventions with Portugal and Brazil; at the HAVANA, under the treaties with Spain; and at SIERRA LEONE, under the treaties and conventions with all those four powers for the trial of slavers captured under cover of their respective flags.

NOTE.—For further information on the various points referred to in the foregoing tabular statements and notes consult Herstlett's Slave-trade Treaties; Bandinel's Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa; The Slave-Trade Papers annually presented to parliament; and two pamphlets published by the Anti-slavery Society in 1837 and 1838, entitled "The Foreign Slave-Trade."

AFRICA.

Agreements stipulating the entire suppression of the slave-trade on the part of African chiefs, and on that of their subjects have been concluded, viz.—

February 13, 1841,	with the	chief of the Timmanees.
April 8, 1841,	„	chiefs of the Bonny.
April 23, 1841,	„	king of Cartebar.
May 7, 1841,	„	chiefs of the Cameroons.
August 28, 1841,	„	king of Aboi or Ybo.
September 6, 1841,	„	king of Egarra country at Idda.

(Bandinel's Slave-trade, p. 297.)

ASIA.

We learn from the papers relative to slavery in British India, that as far back as the year 1820, a treaty was concluded with four Arab Chieftains of the Persian Gulf, Hasan Bin Ramah, Sheikh of Abuthabee, formerly of Rasul Khymah; Karreeb in Ahmud, Sheikh of Jomal-al-Kamra; Shakboot, Sheikh of Aboo Dabay; Hasanbin Ali, Sheikh of Zyah, by Major-general Sir W. Grant Keir. The Sheikh of Bahrein appears to have acceded also to the treaty. In this treaty it was declared that the carrying off slaves, men, women, and children from the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, and the transporting them in vessels, is plunder and piracy, and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of the kind. In 1822, a treaty was effected by Captain Moresly with the Imaum of Muscat, who holds considerable possessions on the Eastern Coast of Africa, and at Zanzibar in particular, one of the greatest and most pestilent slave marts. In 1837, Captain Hennell entered into agreements with the Chief of the Joasmees, the Sultan Bin Suggur, the Sheikh Rashid Bin Hummund, Chief of Amulgareen; Sheikh Mukhtoom, Chief of Debaye; Sheikh Khulufa Bin Shukboot, Chief of Abooth-abee, for the same purpose, and again with His Highness Saeed Bin Sultan, Imaum of Muscat, in 1839. The only difference between the Treaties made with the Imaum and the Arab Chiefs is, that he would not

agree to the boundary line being fixed further west than Pussein, on the Mukran Coast, which is 70 miles East of Cape Guadel, the point agreed to by the Arabs, the reason assigned being, that Pussein was the easternmost boundary of His Highness's territory on the Mukran Coast; and, that its provisions do not appear to apply to his Highness's vessels, probably in deference to his dignity as a Sovereign Prince, and to his close alliance with us. In 1835, as we have already stated, the Rào of Cutch issued a proclamation against the slave trade. It would also appear, that in the same year, the Jam of Noanuggur, the Rana of Porebunder, the Thacoor of Bhownuggur, and the Chief of Mangralle engaged to co-operate with the Indian Government for the suppression of the slave-trade. (Parliamentary Papers, No. 262, 1841, pp. 173-187.)

No. IV.

Proceedings of the British Government in reference to African Slaves illegally introduced into the Spanish Colonies and Brazil.

One of the most important movements ever made by the British government for securing the fulfilment of her treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade by Spain and Brazil, will be found developed in the following documents, to which especial attention is called. Firmness on the part of the government is all that is now required to break up the greatest slave-markets in the world; and to secure liberty to an immense multitude of human beings, who have been, contrary to the faith of treaties and of municipal laws, fraudulently and inhumanly deprived of their freedom.

SPAIN.

Extract of a letter from John Scoble to Joseph Sturge, shortly after having visited the Spanish Colony of Porto Rico, dated July 30th, 1839, (printed in the British Emancipator, 21st August, 1839, p. 279.)

"The Americans are the chief supporters of the trade of this Colony. There are not less than thirteen ports, besides the whole line of coast, into which the slavers can enter, and the demand for slaves is most extensive. It strikes me that an important question arises in connexion with the introduction of slaves into this island, as well as into Cuba. Spain is under treaties with us for the suppression of the slave-trade; all the negroes, therefore, which have been introduced into these Colonies since she declared it unlawful, are entitled to their liberty, and England, it appears to me, has a right to demand their liberty for them."

Copy of a letter from David Turnbull, Esq. to Viscount Palmerston, dated 13th March, 1840.

"My Lord,—In consequence of Lord Leveson's letter of the 10th March, 1840, the undersigned has the honour to submit the following statement to your lordship, in elucidation of the plan he has conceived for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

"From the great and increasing amount of this trade, the evils of which have only been aggravated by the various attempts that have hitherto been made to restrain it, the undersigned submits he is entitled to assume, that the true principle on which an effective measure of abolition should be based has not yet been disclosed. He will not assert that the plan he has now to bring forward is free from all difficulty, but he confidently

maintains, that there is no difficulty attending it which cannot be easily surmounted, if the government will consent to apply to it the mere moral force at its disposal.

"The lever with which it is proposed to overthrow this colossal grievance is to be found among the simplest elements of economical science. It is by cutting off the demand for victims that the supply is to be suppressed. It is by making the purchaser and possessor of an African slave insecure in the enjoyment of his unlawful acquisition, that he is to be deterred from paying the price. It is by demonstrating to the slave dealer that imported Africans will no longer be a marketable commodity, and by that process alone, that he will willingly abandon a trade which has ceased to be profitable.

"The great consumers of African slaves are the empire of Brazil and the colonial dependencies of Spain.

"The white inhabitants of the Brazilian empire begin to be sensible of the imminent danger to which they will expose themselves, if they persevere much longer in adding to the disproportionate amount of their negro population, by the toleration of the African slave-trade. With St. Domingo before their eyes, we have a reasonable guarantee of the sincerity of the professions of his imperial Majesty's government in favour of a system of absolute suppression.

"The case is somewhat different with regard to the colonial dependencies of Spain. In Cuba the white and colonial portions of the population are nearly balanced in numerical strength. In Porto Rico the negroes are far out-numbered by the inhabitants of European descent. In both islands, but especially in Cuba, the natural desire for independence has of late years been stimulated into passion, by the intolerable burthen of the fiscal exactions, which have been levied for the purpose of defraying the charges of a war in another hemisphere, in which they feel no interest.

"It is in consequence of this state of things that the sincerity of the professions of the government of her catholic Majesty, on the subject of the suppression of the slave-trade, is liable to reasonable suspicion. The planters of Cuba and Porto Rico, wherever their estates are fully and properly peopled with a just proportion between the sexes, in place of desiring the continuance of the slave-trade, have a direct and obvious interest in its suppression.

"On the neighbouring continent, within two days' sail of the Havana, the average value of a field slave is at least a thousand dollars. In Cuba the effect of the competition of the slave dealers with each other is to reduce the value of an imported African to less than a third part of that amount.

"The high prices of slaves in those states of North America which adjoin the Gulf of Mexico is still maintained, in spite of the well-known fact that in the breeding districts of Maryland and Virginia the negro population is found to increase in a duplicate ratio, as compared with the inhabitants of those regions of European descent.

"The planters of Cuba are aware that the negro population of Virginia has long been doubling itself every twelve years and a half, while the white inhabitants require twenty-five years to accomplish the process of duplication.

"There is nothing in the climate of Cuba to prevent a similar rate of increase of the negroes. There is nothing, in short, but the cheapness of labour, arising from the toleration of the African trade, which prevents the proprietors of old plantations in Cuba from throwing themselves with confidence on the principle of propagation.

"Here the undersigned desires respectfully to guard himself against the supposition of his being the apologist of slavery, under any circumstances, or with any degree of modification. His present business is to deal with the African slave-trade, and to suggest a practicable mode of accomplishing its suppression. In the proper place, and at the proper period, he does not despair of being able to demonstrate, that by a resort to sound principles, the practice of slavery itself may be rooted out in those very countries whose social and political institutions are now so intimately blended with it.

"The undersigned has not engaged in this conflict without endeavouring to measure the strength of the adversaries with whom he will have to contend. Of these he perceives there are several classes.

"The mere dealer in slaves, the man who invests his capital in the building and outfit of fast-sailing clippers, in manning them with their ruffian crews, in loading them with cargoes of rum or gunpowder, and in devoting himself to the study of international treaties and preventive laws for the sole purpose of evading them, is not by any means to be regarded as a very formidable antagonist. The terms of "coward" and "capitalist" were never more truly convertible than in the person of the trafficker in slaves. He may hire the hands of ruffians and outcasts to hazard their lives in his service, but his money he will not peril without the assurance of a profitable return. That object he finds the means of accomplishing, either by spreading the risk over a sufficient number of separate adventures, or by abandoning a portion of the gain he contemplates, in the shape of premiums of insurance to joint-stock companies or private underwriters.

"Another class of opponents will be found among the ministerial and judicial servants of the Spanish government. Their superiors in the mother country have ingeniously made it the interest of a great number of these public functionaries to evade the execution of the laws, and convert that evasion into a fruitful source of profit, the better to secure the retention of the island in her catholic Majesty's dependence.

"Inasmuch, however, as the existence of the Court of Mixed Commission at the Havana, with all its acknowledged imperfections, has had the effect, during the twenty years elapsed since its creation, of disappointing the cupidity of these venal functionaries to a very considerable extent, the undersigned sees no reason to doubt that, with the improved machinery he proposes to introduce, this iniquitous source of profit will be completely dried up and extinguished.

"Before entering on the specification of the nature of this machinery, it may not be inconvenient to indicate the first and most important step of the process he proposes to follow.

"It is asserted by many of our most eminent philanthropists, that according to the spirit of our existing treaties with Spain, we are entitled to demand the instant liberation of every individual consigned to slavery in any part of the Spanish dependencies since the date of the first of these conventions. To this argument it would not be easy to offer a satisfactory reply. For the present, however, the undersigned is content to cut off the source of future importation, and to leave this an open question, to be agitated by others. Should the humble voice of the undersigned be ever entitled to share in the decision, he trusts he need not say with what cordiality he would give it in the affirmative.

"Let us not embarrass ourselves, however, with too much work at a time. The most convenient moment for discussing it will be after the channels of importation shall have been cut off, and after the enormous masses of capital, at this moment engaged in the trade to Africa, shall

have been finally drawn off to find their due level in the great money markets of the world.

"According to the views of the undersigned, the Courts of Mixed Commission at the Havana and Rio de Janeiro, which, under the operation of existing treaties, have gradually been sinking into a state of listless inactivity, will at once be raised to a degree of efficiency and vigour which they have not possessed at any period of their existence.

"The plan of the undersigned is, by the negociation of new conventions, or of additional clauses to existing treaties, to confer on these courts the power of enforcing the law of the country in which they sit, by declaring that A., B., or C., the inmate of a barracoon, or a labourer on a plantation, is not a native Creole, but has been introduced into the country in violation of law and treaty. He would further propose that the onus of proving a lawful dominion over the slave should be thrown on the party claiming it; that, in short, there should be a legal presumption in favour of freedom; and there can be the less objection to introduce and recognise this principle in the treaty he recommends for negotiation, inasmuch as he has been informed by the eminent Spanish jurisconsults, with whom he has advised on the subject, that the presumption of freedom, in the absence of proof to the contrary, is already the right of every inhabitant of her catholic Majesty's dominions. Happily, however, for the cause of humanity, it is matter of notoriety, among persons conversant with the subject, that a fresh imported, or *bozal*, negro can, for many years after his arrival in America, be distinguished at a glance from the native Creoles. The distinction is, in fact, so clear, that the mere presentation of the individual in court, without a word of evidence as to the place of his birth, would in most cases be sufficient to determine his condition.

"Should her Majesty's government be induced to enter on such a negociation, the true grounds and motives for the opposition to be expected from the government of her catholic Majesty will not, in all probability, be openly avowed. It will never be admitted, that a clandestine encouragement of the worst practices of the slave-trade is rendered necessary, by a sort of political necessity, in order to repress the aspirations of the Creole population of Cuba for that sort of independence which the other Spanish provinces of America have already achieved.

"Neither will it be pretended that the continuance of the slave-trade is necessary to the successful cultivation of the soil, in presence of the facts already alluded to, of the rapid increase of the negro population in the neighbouring states of the North American Union.

"The ostensible ground of opposition will probably be confined to a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection, on the part of those slaves who will not be entitled to a declaration of freedom in their favour, in consequence of the place of their birth, or the date of their introduction. Her catholic Majesty's government have constantly professed as ardent a desire as our own to concur in all the measures of suppression already proposed; and yet the fact is undeniable, that in place of being diminished or modified by any of the measures of restraint which have hitherto been resorted to, the evil is actually on the increase—a position satisfactorily established by the progressive nature of the official returns of the amount of the slave population. The arguments that may be drawn from a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection may be answered by the fact, that it is the wild and savage African alone whose removal we propose, and that it is no part of our plan to disturb the condition of the comparatively civilized Creole. It is, besides, by units, and not by cargoes, that the pro-

cess of liberation will take place, so that the proceedings under the new treaty will be much less alarming in their general aspect, or their individual amount, than those already sanctioned by existing conventions.

"As the proceedings of the Court of Mixed Commission, however, have hitherto been conducted in strict conformity with the Spanish principle of closed doors, written pleadings, and secret deliberations, it might possibly be advisable to adhere to the established practice, inasmuch as opposition would thereby be disarmed, and the presence of a British prosecutor and one or more British judges would afford a sufficient guarantee for their perfect regularity. The mere existence of the court for upwards of twenty years, in the course of which discussions have frequently arisen affecting the freedom of entire cargoes of Africans, without producing a single practical evil to give the captain-general or the government any substantive cause of complaint, appears to the undersigned to afford a broad basis on which the demand for the enlargement of the powers of the court may be conveniently founded. The great advantage of proceeding by units, and not by masses, is that every individual liberation would amount to the assertion of a vital principle, without affording any reasonable pretext for apprehension or alarm.

"It may not be easy to suggest any better expedient than that already recognised by treaty, for the case of a difference of opinion between the two commissary judges. It is true that in doubtful cases a decided leaning has been observed on the part of the Spanish members of the court towards the acquittal of the prizes brought up for condemnation; and there may, therefore, be some reason to apprehend a corresponding disposition to resist the liberation of the negro clients of the British prosecutor, as often as a sufficient air of doubt can be thrown over the case to justify the hesitation of the Spanish Commissary Judge. On the very worst supposition which it is possible to conceive, the drawing of lots for the choice of the arbitrator would be resorted to in every case, without a single exception. The past practice of the Spanish judges, however indefensible in many particular instances, has never yet been carried to this systematic extreme; and in fairness it cannot be said there is any just reason to anticipate such an unheard of degree of pertinacity for the future. But suppose for a moment that the Spanish judge and the Spanish arbitrator were to be for ever deaf to the calls of duty and the evidence of fact, it results from the mere doctrine of chances, which, when applied to thousands of cases, becomes infallible, that one-half of the whole of those to be thus presented to the Mixed Court for adjudication, would be decided in favour of the liberty of the slave. Now, the systematic liberation of one-half only of the future importations would be perfectly sufficient to prevent the planter from paying a remunerating price to the dealer or importer; and hence it is demonstrated that the system of the undersigned must be fatal to the trade.

"Objections of a dilatory nature may of course be expected on the part of her catholic Majesty's ministers at the outset of this negotiation. The necessity or convenience of consulting the governors and captains-general of their transatlantic possessions will probably be urged as a reason for withholding their immediate assent to a proposition, which is calculated to affect the future interests and prosperity of the Spanish West India Colonies.

"To render this pretence unavailing, the undersigned is strongly of opinion, that the past and future importations of slaves into these colonies should be separated from each other by a broad line of distinction; and that the object of the proposed negotiation should be exclusively confined

to the case of future importations. The most convenient *terminus a quo* would probably be the date of the first official note of the British ambassador, directing the attention of her catholic Majesty's government to the subject.

"Were it consistent with the duties or the dignity of a cabinet minister to undertake such a mission, the undersigned would respectfully suggest that the well-earned popularity of the Lord Privy Seal with the Spanish nation would convert, in his lordship's hands, a tedious and difficult task into an easy and instantaneous operation. Before his lordship's arrival, the mind of the Spanish people might be prepared for his reception, through the medium of the Peninsular press. His re-appearance in Madrid would become a sort of triumphal entry; and the great and interesting object of his embassy would be accomplished, under the influence of the first burst of national enthusiasm. In hazarding the prediction, the undersigned has not spoken without some knowledge of the Spanish character, nor without an intimate personal acquaintance with the machinery of the Peninsular press; it was his fortune to be a resident in Madrid during the period of the negotiation of the treaty of 1835.

"Before closing this paper, the undersigned entreats your lordship's indulgent attention to a few of the collateral advantages which are destined to result from the adoption of his plan.

"1. The whole of the naval force so unprofitably, so injuriously employed in the ineffectual blockade of a whole continent on one side, of two large islands and a vast empire on the other, would be liberated from duties involving great loss of human life and a heavy charge to the state, without any corresponding benefit in the shape of honour or profit; and would either be rendered disposable for services more useful to the country, or would produce a proportional saving of the national expenditure.

"2. The commercial interests of the country are deeply injured by this toleration of a trade, with the practice of which her Majesty's subjects refuse to pollute themselves.

"The honour of her Majesty's crown is grievously tarnished by the habitual disregard of the solemn treaties which her Majesty and her royal predecessors have concluded and ratified for its suppression. These interests will be protected, that honour will be saved, by the adoption of a sound system of abolition.

"3. In the department of Foreign Affairs, a vast amount of labour would be saved to the principal Secretary of State, by rendering it unnecessary to continue those widely ramified negotiations throughout the civilised world, the object of which is to create a universal league for the suppression of the slave-trade. The unprofitable labour of our foreign embassies and legations would equally be spared, and a similar saving would be effected in the colonial departments of the government.

"4. The state of our relations with Spain would be greatly improved. The suppression of the slave-trade, and the progressive civilisation of the Creole negroes, to the total exclusion of any intermixture of savage Africans, would liberate the greater part of the overgrown garrisons of the Havana, and of the outports of Cuba and Porto Rico, and would thus go far to enable the Spanish government to satisfy their foreign creditors. If any serious difficulty presented itself in the course of the negotiation, the undersigned submits that the incalculable importance of the object would justify the government either in threatening, on the one hand, to recognise and guarantee the independence of Cuba in case of refusal, or in undertaking, on the other, as the price of her consent to an effectual and *bonâ fide* suppression, to secure the mother country in the possession of this

valuable dependency, as long as it remained practically free from the stain of slave-trading.

"5. The existing differences with Portugal, our ancient ally, arising out of the infringement of our slave-trade treaties, would be adjusted in the simplest and most satisfactory manner, by the total extinction of the original cause of quarrel.

"6. A fruitful source of discord with the United States of America would likewise be extinguished by the peaceful mode of suppression which the undersigned recommends. The law of last session, with reference to Portugal, is evidently destined to throw the whole of the carrying trade in slaves, directly or indirectly, into the hands of the Americans. The discussions which are sure to arise out of this state of things will serve to embitter the Boundary question—uniting the inhabitants of the Southern States and of the Atlantic cities, with the belligerents of Maine and the manufacturing interests of New England, in their no longer latent desire of an open rupture with Great Britain.

"7. But the crowning advantage to arise from the peaceful solution of this *quæstio vexata* ought rather to be regarded as direct than collateral. The introduction into the interior of Africa of habits of peace and order, Christianity and civilisation, will be the inevitable result of suppression. A taste for foreign luxuries is already implanted in the mind of the native African. To obtain the enjoyment of them, he resorts to war and rapine; to the capture and sale of his fellow-creatures. The taste will remain, after the medium of exchange has lost its value; the arts of peace will take the place of deeds of violence; and the humanising influence of lawful commerce will follow in the steps of the man-stealer.

"In laying this statement before your lordship, the undersigned disburthens his mind of the high responsibility which has never ceased to press on it from the moment that his views have reached a reasonable degree of maturity. That responsibility he respectfully transfers to your lordship; and with it the immortal honour of accomplishing the extinction of the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted mankind.

"The British Minister who shall accomplish an object which has engaged the attention of statesmen and philanthropists for the last half century, defeating the ingenuity of the one and disappointing the zeal of the other, will be hailed by his contemporaries as the benefactor of his race, and will send down his name with glory to the latest posterity. The British Minister who should lightly reject the first practical remedy that has ever been brought forward, if its soundness and efficacy should afterwards be demonstrated, would not only throw away the wreath prepared for his acceptance, but would justly expose himself to the most serious reproach.

"The undersigned, &c.

"(Signed) D. TURNBULL.

(Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1840, pp. 4-8.)

Extract of an Address from the Anti-slavery committee to Viscount Palmerston, dated 20th March, 1840.

"But there is still another and a larger class, the Africans, who, contrary to the laws of Spain, Brazil, and Holland, and the treaties which these powers have entered into with Great Britain, have been illicitly introduced into their respective territories, and are consequently illegally held and used as slaves. Had the laws of the countries referred to been carried into full effect, not only would the vast multitude of unhappy beings who are now enduring the most terrible fate to which man can be

exposed, and the untold numbers who have miserably perished under circumstances the most revolting and horrible, have been preserved from slavery and death; but the markets for slaves in these countries having been destroyed, the slave-trade with all its atrocious accompaniments, so far as they were concerned, would have ceased. Happily, however, for humanity, there is yet hope that no inconsiderable number of these Africans and their descendants, who have survived the perils through which they have been called to pass, may yet be free, and most honourable will it be to the government of her Majesty if it become the instrument of achieving their liberty!

"Spain, Brazil, and Holland, have been for many years under the most solemn engagements to co-operate with this country in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under the treaties which exist with these powers, the government of this country has acquired the right to demand of them what has become of the Africans, who it is notorious have been illicitly and scandalously introduced, by tens of thousands, since the formation of those treaties; who still continue to be introduced into the colonies and territories of the two former powers, notwithstanding the vigilance of British cruizers, and an immense expenditure of treasure and of life on the part of this country. And, further, in the judgment of the Committee, the government has not only acquired the right to demand what has become of these victims of cupidity and oppression, but also the power to interpose in their behalf, to declare their right to liberty, and to secure its enjoyment. The Committee would, therefore, beg most earnestly of your lordship, to adopt such measures as shall be a test of the sincerity of these powers to abolish the slave-trade, and shall lead without delay to the enforcement of their own laws. The importance of such a step must be obvious to your lordship, inasmuch as it would secure the liberty of an immense body of Africans now unlawfully held as slaves; and, what is now even of greater importance, would effectually destroy the slave-trade. The Committee conceive that the constitution of a court under the treaties referred to, possessing ample and summary powers to ascertain the bozal from the Creole negroes—the Africans imported subsequently to the date of the first treaties with these powers for the suppression of the slave-trade, from those who had been previously introduced; and authority to decide, without appeal, in all cases brought before it for adjudication, upon the question of their right to liberty—the onus of proof, in all cases to the contrary, resting with the parties claiming ownership, would be of great value in this respect."

Copy of a despatch from Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Aston, British Minister at Madrid, dated 25th May, 1840.

"Although the slave-trade under the Spanish flag has been, in a great measure, suppressed by means of the treaty of June, 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, yet slave-traders have hoisted other flags to protect their vessels; and thus the island of Cuba has continued to be supplied with fresh importations of negro slaves from Africa. It has, however, been suggested that these abuses might be stopped, by investing the Mixed Court of Justice, established at the Havana, with authority to investigate the cases of negroes who are held in slavery in the island; and to declare whether such negroes have, or have not, been imported into that island since the 20th October, 1820; and whether, therefore, they ought, or ought not, to be restored to freedom.

"I have prepared a Draft of Convention with this view, and I transmit

it herewith to you; and I have to desire that you will take an early opportunity of proposing it to the Spanish ministry.

"I have received from Mr. Turnbull a letter at some length upon this subject, and I herewith transmit to you a copy of it, in order that you may avail yourself of the arguments contained in it, in discussing with the Spanish minister the accompanying Draft of Convention."

Draft of Convention between Great Britain and Spain on Slave Trade.

Preamble.

"Her majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and her majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, having reason to believe that, notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 23rd September, 1817, and the further stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 28th June, 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, negroes are from time to time imported from Africa into the colonial possessions of her Catholic Majesty, and are there held in bondage, contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the said treaties, and in violation of the decrees which have been promulgated in Spain for carrying the said treaties into effect.

"Their said majesties have named and appointed as their plenipotentiaries, to devise and agree upon further measures for preventing the violation of the said treaties in the manner above mentioned.

"Who, having exchanged their full powers, &c., have agreed upon the following articles."

Article 1.

"The Mixed Court of Justice, established at the Havana, is hereby authorised to receive information upon oath, to the effect that grounds of suspicion exist, that negroes recently arrived from Africa are detained as slaves in the transatlantic Dominions of Spain; and the said Mixed Court, upon receiving such information, is hereby empowered and enjoined to summon before it such negroes, and the persons assuming to be the owners of such negroes, and all other individuals apparently concerned in, or having knowledge of, the transaction in question; and the said Mixed Court is further empowered and enjoined to examine all such persons on oath touching the said transaction, and if, upon examination, it shall not be clearly proved to the satisfaction of the said Court that the negroes alleged to have been recently imported from Africa were born in the transatlantic dominions of Spain, or were imported from Africa into those dominions before the 30th October, 1820, the said Court shall declare such negroes to be free, and such negroes shall be set free accordingly."

Article 2.

"If the owner or owners of the negroes, said to be wrongfully held in bondage, shall, upon the first summons of the Court, refuse or demur to appear before the Court, either by themselves or by others in their behalf, the Court shall summon the parties a second time; and if this second summons should not be effectual, the Court shall, after the expiration of a proper interval of time, summon the parties a third time; and if the parties do not obey either of the three summonses, the Court shall, notwithstanding the absence of such owner or owners, or other persons in their behalf, proceed to adjudge the cause, and to decide whether or not the negroes, who are alleged to be wrongfully held in bondage, shall be set free; and the decision of the Court in such cases shall be held good and valid, notwithstanding the absence of the parties, and shall be carried into effect accordingly."

Article 3.

"Her Catholic Majesty, shall within weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention promulgate a decree, giving authority to the Mixed Court of Justice to enforce the execution of its decisions, in accordance with the provisions contained in the preceding Articles."

(Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1840, pp. 2, 3.)

We have not yet learned whether the government of Spain has opened negotiations upon the foregoing basis; but this we know, that the traffickers in slaves in the Spanish colonies, as well as the holders of slaves illegally introduced, are filled with dismay at the present movement of the British government, which has already had the effect of putting a great check on the slave-trade. We shall wait with intense interest the issue of these proceedings.

BRAZIL.

The treaties and conventions of this country with Portugal, for the suppression of the slave-trade, were equally binding, both before and after the separation of Brazil from that country, on the latter power. In November, 1826, the Brazilian government entered into a convention with Great Britain, having the same object in view, which was ratified in March, 1827, and which stipulated that "*it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade, under any pretext or in any manner whatever; and the carrying on such trade after that period by any subject of his imperial Majesty shall be deemed and treated as* PIRACY. On the 7th November, 1831, a decree was passed by the Legislative Assembly, which received the sanction of the regency, the first article of which declared that "ALL SLAVES entering the territory or ports of Brazil, coming from abroad, ARE FREE; that all persons concerned in the slave-trade should be liable to fine and corporal punishment; and that slave-ships should be confiscated." In consequence, however, of the flagrant violation of the existing treaties and laws by the slave-traders, Lord Palmerston, on the 7th May, 1833, proposed "to add some more effectual stipulation to the treaty (1826) now in force on the subject." For a time negotiation proved unsuccessful. At length, on the 27th July, 1835, Brazil signed additional articles to the treaty of 1826, authorising the condemnation of vessels equipped for the slave-trade, and the breaking them up when proved to be so. These articles have not yet been ratified by the Brazilian legislature. Subsequently to this period, overtures of various kinds have been made to the Brazilian government to secure the abolition of the traffic, but up to a very recent period without effect.

In 1837, the Marquis Barbacena proposed the revocation of the decree of the 7th November, 1831, and subsequently to that period the most strenuous efforts have been made by the pro-slavery party in Brazil to attain that object. The documents which have been printed, illustrating this point, are too long to be inserted here; but as they contain some curious admissions, and show the grounds on which so monstrous a proposition is advocated, a few extracts from them are submitted to the reader.

Extracts of a Representation from the Provincial Legislature of Minas Geraes to the General Assembly, dated February 22, 1840.

"The Provincial Legislative Assembly of Minas Geraes, under date of the 11th March, 1839, * * * * laid before you the just clamours which the

people of Minas raise against the rigour of that law, and the danger with which it threatens the fortunes of individuals. *It explained faithfully the progressive falling off of agriculture and of mining, for want of African labour. It frankly showed to you that in this province that law neither is nor can be executed,* because, being decidedly opposed to the habits and interests of all classes of the population, the authorities have not sufficient force to cause it to be respected."

"It is quite evident that the growing necessity of African labour yet more incites our citizens to a traffic which is criminal, because a law prohibits it; and experience yet each time more strongly demonstrates the impossibility of arresting the evil torrent, and the danger of the law being executed, *if such execution were perchance possible.*"

"These evils, these dangers, and above all the immorality which is the result of our citizens being accustomed to violate the laws under the very eyes of the administrators thereof, the disrespect which ensues to them therefrom, and the contempt to which those who are to execute them subject themselves if they in vain attempt to fulfil their duty."

"Persuaded that you will not fail to listen to its voice, when raised in favour of the interests of the province which it represents, this Assembly again respectfully entreats you to modify the law of the 7th November, 1831, in such a way as may secure the fortunes of our citizens, and may no longer be an impediment to the development of the grandeur of which the rich province of Minas Geraes is susceptible." (Class A, Slave-trade Papers, 1840, p. 294.)

Extracts of M. Pereira de Silva's project, dated 20th March, 1840.

"Already, in 1836, this Legislative Assembly of the province of Rio de Janeiro made a representation to the General Legislative Assembly of the empire, soliciting a revocation of the law of the 7th November, 1831."

"Praiseworthy sentiments of humanity were, certainly, those which dictated the law of the 7th November, 1831, which deems all Africans imported into Brazil after its promulgation to be free, and that those individuals are highly criminal who, directly or indirectly, take part in their importation, either by purchase or sale, or by retaining them in the capacity of slaves. What salutary effects, however, has this law produced? Not one of those which the legislators of the empire had in view. Instead of advantages it has brought us nothing but evils, and those incalculable, which cannot be remedied. Instead of the advantages which were promised us for the future, all that is felt, all that is seen, and all that is anticipated is, on the contrary, a terrible and alarming prospect. From the very commencement the law was not executed, neither could it be executed. When the legislators do not attend to the habits, the ideas, and the interests of a people—when public opinion is despised, even though those habits, those ideas, those interests, and that judgment, should be palpable errors, preconceived and unfounded opinions and inveterate prejudices, the consequence is terrible, but certain and inevitable; that laws so made on theory only, without the aid of experience, can neither receive their execution from the citizens, who will continue to act as heretofore, nor from the authorities, who dread to commit themselves; and from the non-observance of the law, and its want of execution, arises that demoralisation which communicates itself to every class of society; nor is this general non-observance of the law a singular fact in the history of nations and in the annals of legislation; on the contrary, it is a regular, ordinary, natural, and irresistible effect."

"The necessary result of such a system is impunity; this still adds to

the number of the delinquents; and there is no spectacle either so immoral or so corrupt as that of a nation which does not respect its own laws; which despises them, and even habituates itself to violate them with impunity. And from the immorality and corruption of a society how many evils, what terrible consequences, must necessarily result!"

"This, august and most worthy representatives, is the course which has attended among us the law of 7th November, 1831. The most important and considerable class of the empire, which is the agricultural, believe that it could neither live, nor prosper, nor increase, without the assistance of African labour, seeing that a sufficient substitute for this was not supplied by free labour; it became, therefore, of primary necessity to acquire Africans in spite of all risks and dangers. Their importation did not cease on the promulgation of the law; its infractors were not punished, inasmuch as they received the sympathy of public opinion, which could not willingly accept the law. The authorities were under restraint or conniving. The example, rapid as lightning, was communicated to the mass. The infractors, at first few in number, now constitute so large a body, that their punishment would be a real and great public calamity. The law, therefore, became a dead letter; which very circumstance requires its abrogation, inasmuch as while it exists, even though not executed, evils still more incalculable may ensue; because, in the first place, it leaves on statute, and establishes the principle, that all those Africans imported since the promulgation of the law are free. And may it not, perhaps, happen one day that, sustained by such a principle, there may appear like a cloud a considerable number of Africans, who are continually being landed on our shores, vociferating for their liberty, and breaking the chains with which they have been illegally fettered? And then, alas for the welfare of the most interesting and most laborious class of the citizens of the empire, who possess an enormous supply of these Africans; alas for those large estates, by the produce of which the nation supports itself, and becomes great and prosperous.

"Further, most august and worthy representatives, the terrible consequences anticipated in future may not stop here; if, perchance, a period of dangerous reaction should arrive, in which this law might attain sufficient force for the execution of all its articles, would it not be painful to see whole families, formerly at their ease, reduced to indigence, and their heads, laborious and useful citizens, dragged to dungeons, to suffer the penalty which the legislators have awarded to those violating such a law, which has as yet by no one been respected in Brazil, at whatever risk?

"All these circumstances, and many more, will suggest themselves to you. By the love which you consecrate to the country, and by the desire which you evince of co-operating in its advancement and progress; induce the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro to petition again that you will take, as soon as possible, those measures which you may deem suitable, in order that the law of 7th November, 1831, may be revoked in all its parts; granting an amnesty without any restriction to all those persons who may be comprehended in any of the enactments of that law, declaring the Africans of every condition, sex, and age, who have been introduced into Brazil since the promulgation of the law, to be deprived of all and every right of action for vindicating their liberty; it being requisite that, while terminating at once the scandalous contempt of the law by drying up the source of immorality resulting therefrom, we may also prevent the lamentable misfortune of seeing Africans armed with this same law, requiring their liberty, and the punishment of those who have imported or sold slaves, or may possess them." (Ibid. pp. 299 to 301.)

The foregoing extracts will show both the feelings and the wishes of the planters of Brazil, and how little hope there is that any measure of justice or humanity will meet their approbation. The admission both of their guilt and of their fears is important. They dread a reaction on themselves, which must inevitably take place, by which in their turn they may become the victims instead of the oppressors. At the present moment more than one-half of the slave population of Brazil is held in bondage contrary to law. It is this fact which makes them so eager and united for the repeal of the laws which constitute them criminals, and which may at any time be wielded against them for their condemnation and punishment; but, above all, they fear the power which this fact puts into the hands of their slaves, who may at any moment assert their rights, invoke the protection of the law, sue for the infliction of its penalties on those who have usurped authority over them, and obtain their deliverance from bondage.

The British government have not been unmindful of its duties in relation to the pro-slavery movement in Brazil, as the following statement will show.

Mr. Ouseley, our representative at Rio, in a communication to M. Lopes Gama, minister for foreign affairs, dated 3rd June, 1840, after adverting to the attempts which had been made by the slave-trade party in the Brazilian legislature to repeal the law of the 7th November, 1831, which gave effect to the treaty with this country, and secured, among other objects, the emancipation of all slaves illicitly introduced into Brazil; and after stating that the two governments they represented were bound, "both conjointly and separately, strongly and firmly to evince, by energetic acts, the good faith and efficiency of their united determination to put a stop to the fatal traffic in human beings, by which Brazil is inundated with uncivilised hordes, iniquitously kidnapped from their native country, and by which the prodigious efforts of her Majesty's government, and the expenditure which it has incurred, are sought to be rendered unavailing;" observes, "It would be much to be lamented should any proposition pass which would render that law inoperative, or tend in any way to encourage the slave-trade, as the undersigned would have to protest in the strongest manner in the name of his government against its adoption; which, however, with the present enlightened administration, cannot be apprehended, as it is clearly impossible, in law or equity, whatever may unfortunately be *de facto* the practice, to deprive of their rights and liberty, guaranteed by the most positive laws and the stipulations of treaty, a multitude of individuals, unaccused even of crime, and living under the protection of the laws and engagements of the imperial government, for the sake of securing impunity to their criminal oppressors. The undersigned repeats, that the possibility of carrying into effect such a violation of all moral and legal right is not to be expected in a civilised country." Here rested the matter with Senhor Lopes Gama, who shortly after was succeeded in office by M. Aureliano de Souza e Oleveira Coutinho, to whom Mr. Ouseley addressed himself on the 28th August, 1840, stating that he had "received positive instructions to protest in the strongest manner against the revocation of the law of the 7th November, 1831, by which, in fulfilment of philanthropic and just engagements with Great Britain, the unconditional freedom of illegally imported Africans into this empire, was in the most solemn manner guaranteed and rendered their legal and absolute right." Of the entire concurrence of Lord Palmerston in the steps Mr. Ouseley had taken we find proof in a despatch of his lordship to that functionary, dated the 2nd and the 25th September, 1840, from the latter of which we

make the following extract:—"I have now to desire," says his lordship, "that you will state in writing to the Brazilian minister, that all negroes who have been duly found to have been illegally imported into Brazil are, by the treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, entitled to be considered free; and that her Majesty's government could not admit that any law which the Brazilian legislature may choose to pass, would afford to the Brazilian government the slightest justification whatever for violating a treaty between the two countries." Senhor Aureliano, in his reply to Mr. Ouseley, says, that the administration of which he forms a part "sympathises with the philanthropic sentiments of the age; that it is in no way in favour of the traffic in slaves; and that it will not belie these sentiments by the manner in which it considers the said project of law." Thus, we perceive, that matters are ripe for decision between the two governments. Brazil must emancipate, if she would maintain the honour of her legislature, her laws, and her engagements with this country. At all events, Great Britain will not allow her treaty to remain a dead letter; she will exact the bond, and that will determine the fate of the slave-trade. Humanity, justice, religion, the faith of treaties, and the integrity of law, are on our side; all that is required to the accomplishment of our righteous object is firmness, and that we may be well assured will not be wanting on the part of her Majesty's government.

No. V.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the United States the curse of slavery is not restricted to distant colonies, nor the traffic in men, women, and children, carried on on distant coasts, but slavery exists in her very bosom, and the accursed trade in mankind is kept up in her southern markets on the same terms, and with as little compunction, as the trade in the beasts of the field, or in the productions of the soil. Slavery and the slave-trade exist in one-half of the states, and are more or less protected and fostered by them all. Of her domestic slavery, and of the buying and selling of her own subjects, however, it is not intended to treat in the following remarks, which will be confined exclusively to the African branch of the slave-trade, and to the efforts made for its suppression up to the present time.

No fewer than nine acts, having ostensibly the abolition of the foreign slave-trade in view, have been passed by the legislature of the United States, between the 22nd of March, 1794, and the 5th of May, 1820. That of the earliest date prohibits "the carrying on of the slave-trade to any foreign place or country;" and that of the last date declares the slave-trade to be piracy, and affixes the punishment of death to the crime. Thus, all that can be effected by mere enactments appears to have been done, but nevertheless the Africo-American slave-trade has flourished, and may probably be continued; but should it not, there can be no doubt that the American flag will be assumed by the miscreants of all nations, when they find that, under its protection, they are to be free from interruption from the cruisers of those nations who have joined in a league to suppress this infamous traffic.

In the year 1807 the Senate of the United States adopted the following resolution, viz.—"That the committee, to whom was referred the petition of the committee of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends at Baltimore, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the

laws of the United States on the subject of the African slave-trade, as more effectually to prevent the said trade from being carried on by the citizens of the United States under foreign flags; and also into *the expediency of the United States taking measures, in concert with other nations, for the entire abolition of the said trade.*"

From the spirit evinced by this resolution, hopes were entertained that the government of the United States might be induced to enter into a treaty with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, and that the important measure of a mutual right of search might be agreed to—a measure which appeared to afford the only means of securing the effectual execution of the laws already passed for that purpose.

In 1814 the United States government concluded a war with Great Britain, and in the treaty of peace gave its assent to the following article: "Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting powers shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object."

In June, 1818, Lord Castlereagh addressed a letter to Mr Rush, the American minister in London, stating the necessity which existed for some effectual concert being established amongst the principal maritime powers, to prevent their respective flags being made a cover for an illicit slave-trade; and showing that whatever might be the state of the law on the subject, the evil would continue to exist; and that in proportion as it assumed a contraband form, it would be carried on under more aggravated circumstances of cruelty and desolation. His lordship referred to the treaties already concluded with other powers for this purpose, and urged on the attention of the American government the advantages to be derived from their acceding to a mutual right of search. To this despatch an answer was returned in the following December, by order of the President, which stated that the American government was desirous of a total abolition of the foreign slave-trade, but declined at that time to enter into any treaty for its suppression.

On the 29th January, 1823, Mr. Stratford Canning, the British minister at Washington, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State reminding him of this pledge, and calling on the American government either to assent to the plan proposed by Great Britain, or to suggest some other efficient one in its place. *After* the reception of this letter, and *before* the return of an answer, the following resolution was passed (28th February) by the House of Representatives: viz.—"Resolved, that the President of the United States be requested to enter upon, and prosecute from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave-trade, *and its ultimate denunciation as piracy under the laws of nations, by the consent of the civilised world.*"

The British minister was then informed in answer to his letter, that the *plan* proposed by the United States was a *mutual* stipulation to annex the penalty of piracy to the offence of participating in the trade by the citizens and subjects of the two countries. Mr Canning replied, that "Great Britain desires no other than that any of her subjects who so far defy the laws and dishonour the character of their country as to engage in a trade of blood, proscribed not more by the act of the legislature than by the national feeling, should be detected and brought to justice, even by *foreign hands*, and from under the protection of her flag." He, nevertheless, urged a limited concession of the right of search as the only *practical* cure of the evil; and he communicated the fact that so late as January, 1822,

it was stated officially by the Governor of Sierra Leone, "that the rivers Nunez and Pongas were entirely under the control of renegade European and American slave-traders." He then proposed that a mutual right of search should be conceded, to be confined to a fixed number of cruisers of each side, to be restricted to certain parts of the ocean; and that to prevent abuses these cruisers should act under regulations prepared by mutual consent; and, moreover, that this concession should be made only for a short time, that if found inconvenient in practice it might be discontinued.

But the republic stood on its dignity, and would not condescend to yield a concession which Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Tuscany, the Hanse Towns, Naples, and Sardinia have thought it no degradation to make in the cause of humanity.

But still the American government appeared *very* anxious that every man of every nation who engaged in the traffic of slaves on the coast of Africa (not in the district of Columbia), should be hung by the neck till he was dead: and, forthwith, in obedience to the resolution of the 28th of February, despatches were forwarded to the cabinets of France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, the Netherlands, Buenos Ayres, and Columbia, announcing the desire of the United States to declare the trade piracy, by the common consent of nations.

It is generally understood that a pirate is an enemy of the human race, and may be put to death by any government in whose hands he may chance to fall. If this was not the purport of the proposition to the House of Representatives, that the trade should be denounced "as PIRACY under the laws of nations, by the *consent of the civilised world*," we may well ask what did it mean?

On the 24th June, 1823, instructions were forwarded to the American minister in England, authorising him to conclude a treaty with Great Britain on the subject of the slave-trade, on certain conditions. "The draft of a convention," says the Secretary of State, "is herewith enclosed, which, *if* the British government should agree to treat upon this subject on the basis of a *legislative* prohibition of the slave-trade by both parties, under the penalties of PIRACY, you are authorised to propose and conclude."

Now, it should be remembered that at this time the trade was not piratical by the British laws, and the English ministry could not make it so by treaty. The government of the United States, therefore, proposed a *condition*, with which possibly they might not have it in their power to comply. The ministry, however, when made acquainted with the condition felt confident of the acquiescence of parliament. "The British plenipotentiaries," says Mr. Rush, in his letter to the Secretary of State, gave their unhesitating consent to the principle of denouncing the traffic as piracy, *provided* we could arrive at a common mind on all the other parts of the plan proposed."

The treaty, nearly verbatim with the draft sent from Washington, was signed at London on the 13th March, 1824; and a few days afterwards, according to a previous understanding, and in fulfilment of the *condition* exacted by the United States, parliament passed an act declaring that all British subjects found guilty of slave-trading, "shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, and loss of lands, goods, and chattels, as *pirates*, felons, and robbers upon the seas ought to suffer."

This treaty provided, in substance, that the cruisers of either party on the coasts of Africa, *America*, and the West Indies, may seize slaves under the flag of the other, and send them *home* to the country to which they belonged, where they should be proceeded against as pirates. So that, in fact, the whole concession made by the United States to Great Britain

amounted to no more than permitting her to arrest their pirates, and to deliver them to their courts for trial; and in return she granted to America precisely the same right with respect to her pirates.

The treaty was submitted, of course, to the Senate for ratification, which, under the circumstances of the case, one would think must have followed as a matter of course. The Senate, however, thought otherwise. The treaty was laid before them on the 30th April; but as they delayed to act upon it, the British minister at Washington became uneasy, and on the 16th May addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, complaining of the postponement of the ratification; especially as the project of the convention had *originated* with the United States, and as Great Britain had not hesitated an instant to comply with the preliminary act desired by the President, "the legislative prohibition of the slave-trade under the penalties of piracy."

The President, naturally feeling his own good faith compromised by the hesitation of the Senate, now sent them a confidential message, urging the ratification of the treaty. He remarked that the rejection of the treaty would subject the executive congress and the nation "to the charge of insincerity respecting the great result of the final suppression of the slave-trade. To invite all nations, with the statute of piracy in our hands, to adopt its principles as the law of nations, and yet to deny to all the common rights of search for the pirate, whom it would be impossible to detect without entering and searching the vessel, would expose us not simply to the charge of inconsistency."

The Senate after long debates finally ratified the treaty in a mutilated form. They struck out the word "America" in the clause authorising the seizure of slavers "on the coasts of Africa, *America*, and the West Indies." They also expunged the article applying the provision of the treaty to vessels *chartered* as well as owned by the citizens or subjects of either party, and to the citizens or subjects of either party carrying on the trade under *foreign flags;* and they added an article authorising either party to terminate the treaty at any time, on giving six months' notice.

It should be observed, that the slaves imported into the United States (estimated at several thousands *per annum*) have been chiefly introduced through the Spanish possessions on their southern frontiers, slavers direct from Africa rarely having the hardihood to enter their ports and discharge their cargoes; while small vessels from the West Indies have occasionally found their way into the southern waters. Of course the treaty, as altered by the Senate, would afford but little interruption to this mode of stocking the plantations of Louisiana and the neighbouring states.

The British cabinet refused to agree to the treaty thus despoiled of all its efficiency; but with wonderful simplicity they proposed to restrict the right of search on the coast of America to the coast of the southern states. This proposition was of course promptly rejected by the American minister in England.

The British government, vainly cherishing the hope that the United States might still consent to some combined effort to destroy a trade they professed to abhor, offered, through their minister at Washington, to consent to a treaty word for word the same as the one the Senate had ratified, with the single exception of restoring the word "America." To this Mr. Clay, then secretary of state, replied, that "from the views entertained by the Senate it would seem unnecessary and inexpedient any longer to continue the negotiation respecting the slave convention, with any hope that it can assume any form satisfactory to both parties. That a similar convention had been formed with Columbia on the 10th December, 1824, excepting that the *coast of America was excepted from its operation;* and

yet, notwithstanding this conciliatory feature, the Senate *had, by a large majority, refused to ratify it.*"

The last effort was made in concert with France, which joined Great Britain in inviting America to accede to the conventions lately concluded between the two former powers; with how little success, the following letter from the French minister to Earl Granville will show.

"*Paris, 11th January*, 1835.

"M. L'AMBASSADEUR,—I received with the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 3rd inst, copies of two despatches, and of their enclosures, from the minister of his Britannic Majesty at Washington, relative to the refusal of the American government to accede to the conventions between France and Great Britain for the repression of the slave-trade.

"The cabinet of his Britannic Majesty will doubtless agree with us in considering that any further effort to induce the government of the United States to accede to these conventions, as offering, for the present at least, no chance of success.

(Signed) "DE RIGNY."

(Parliamentary Papers, class B, 1835, p. 103.)

In the correspondence referred to, the government of the United States positively declared, that "*under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make any combined efforts, of any sort or kind, with other nations, for the suppression of a traffic.*"

To our readers we leave the task of making their own comments on this history of duplicity and hypocrisy, and proceed to other details.

On the 2nd November, 1825, the Columbian minister at Washington, in the name of his government, invited the United States to send delegates to a congress of the South American republics, to be held at Panama. In enumerating the topics to be discussed in the proposed congress, he remarked, "The consideration of means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave-trade, is a subject sacred to humanity and interesting to the policy of the American states. To effect this their energetic, general, and uniform co-operation is desirable." *At the proposition of the United States*, Columbia made a convention with them on this subject, which *has not been ratified by the government of the United States.* Would that America, which does not think politic what is unjust, would contribute in union, and with common consent, to the good of Africa!

This document was submitted to the Senate, and on the 16th January, 1826, a committee of the Senate made a report in relation to it, in which they observe, "The United States have not certainly the right, and ought never to feel the inclination, to dictate to others who may differ with them on this subject (slave-trade); nor do the committee see the expediency of *insulting other states by ascending the moral chair*, and proclaiming from thence mere abstract principles, of the rectitude of which each nation enjoys the perfect right of deciding for itself."

The remarks made on this occasion by Mr. White, a senator from Tennessee, are worthy of observation: "In these new states (the South American republics) some of them have put it down in their fundamental laws, 'that whoever owns a slave shall cease to be a citizen.' Is it, then, fit that the United States should disturb the quiet of the *southern and western states* upon any subject connected with slavery? I think not. Can it be the desire of any prominent politician in the United States to divide us into parties upon the subject of slavery? I hope not. Let us, then,

cease to talk about slavery in this house; let us cease to negotiate upon any subject connected with it."

We have seen most abundantly, that slave-holders have no objection to talk about slavery in congress, or to negotiate about it with foreign nations, when the object is to guard their beloved institution from danger. It is only on the abominations of the system, and the means of recalling it to remembrance, that every tongue must be mute and the federal government passive.

NOTE.—We are indebted to the pen of Judge Jay, of the United States, for the principal part of the foregoing article.

UNITED STATES.—RIGHT OF SEARCH.

Abstract of correspondence with the United States Government.

The right of search, or the visitation of vessels upon the high seas, is again brought into discussion between the governments of Great Britain and the United States; but not involving the principles on which the two nations originally differed, and which engendered such bitterness of feeling prior to the last war. Then the question at issue between the two governments was the right of search for the purpose of ascertaining *the character of the cargo and its ownership, and for the purpose of taking British seamen on board of vessels confessedly American.* This was strenuously claimed by the British government as a *belligerent right*, or a right resulting from the existence of a war between Great Britain and other nations, by the operation of which she insisted that enemies' goods, though found in neutral vessels, were lawful prize—that the flag of a neutral vessel could not protect these from seizure, or her subjects from impressment. *The right to inquire into the national character of the vessel was not then denied.* With these preliminary observations, we proceed to call attention to the communications which have recently passed between the two governments on this subject.

The correspondence was commenced by Mr Stevenson, on the 13th of November, 1840, and includes six letters addressed by him to the British minister, Lord Palmerston, and his successor, Lord Aberdeen; and five from Lord Palmerston, and one from Lord Aberdeen in reply. The correspondence closes with a letter from Mr Stevenson, dated October 21st, 1841.

The subject of complaint on the part of the American minister is the visitation, search, and detention of certain vessels claimed to be American. These are the *Douglass*, *Iago*, *Hero*, *Mary*, and *Susan*. We gather from the correspondence the following character of these vessels, and the circumstances of their detention.

The *Douglass*, with seven Spaniards on board, was bound to the river Brass, in Africa, where no trade but the slave-trade is carried on; had no custom-house clearance, but the captain had made an entry on his log-book, that on leaving the Havana he could not procure one, that he had returned to the harbour for such a paper, and had sailed again without it. She was consigned to a well-known slave-trader, Don Pablo Teisas, who was then on board of her, and to whom the slaving vessels *Asp* and *Lark*, which had been recently condemned for slave-trade, had been consigned. She was found to be fitted out for the slave-trade, with leaguers, hoops, and staves, a slave-deck in planks, and three slave coppers. The consignee, Don Pablo Teisas, acknowledged to the British officer that her cargo was Spanish, and had been shipped as American solely for the purpose of avoiding seizure. This vessel was detained by Lieutenant Seagram, of the

Termagant, who would have sent her to the United States, to be delivered up to our authorities, but that he had received orders from the British commanding officer not to send in any other vessels until he had learned what course was pursued by the United States government in respect to the *Eagle* and *Clara*, previously sent by British cruisers to the United States. After detaining her eight days he released her, in consequence of hearing nothing from the American government.

The *Iago* was fully equipped for the slave-trade; the papers found on board of her were of a suspicious character, and all her men but two were Spaniards; and her Majesty's Advocate-general, to whom the case was referred, reported as his opinion, that had the case been investigated, sufficient proof of her being Spanish, and not American property, would have been afforded to secure her condemnation by the court of Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone. How long this vessel was detained, or what was the character of the *Hero*, or under what circumstances detained, does not appear.

The papers found on board this vessel by the commander of the *Forester*, showed that on the 24th of January, 1839, a bill of sale was prepared at the Havana, by Mr J. A. Smith, the vice-consul of the United States at that port, setting forth that a permanent American register (No. 48) had been granted to the American brig *Mary*, of Philadelphia, on the 27th of June, 1837, and that the brig was at that time owned by Joseph J. Snowden, of Philadelphia, and was commanded by J. H. Haven.

Joseph J. Snowden, the original owner, then gave a power of attorney and substitution to Charles Snowden, who again nominated Pedro Manegat, the notorious slave-dealer, but who was described in that document merely as a merchant at the Havana, to sell and transfer the *Mary*.

Eight days afterwards, Pedro Manegat professedly sold the *Mary* to a man named Pedro Sabate, of New Orleans, who on the 2nd of May appointed as her master Charles Snowden, the same person who three months before had named Pedro Manegat as his agent to sell the *Mary*, and on the 18th of June, Pedro Sabate replaced Snowden, by appointing David Tomlinson to the command.

This Pedro Manegat, the pretended seller, but real purchaser, of the *Mary*, is the same individual who, in like manner, owned the following nominally American vessels,—namely, the *Hyperion*, which left the Havana in December, 1838, as an American vessel, and was afterwards condemned as the Spanish schooner *Isabel*; the schooner *Hazard*, which was detained and erroneously released in February, 1839, under circumstances similar to those which mark the case of the *Mary*; and the *Octavia*, also condemned as Spanish property; which last-named vessel Pedro Manegat had only employed as he did the *Mary*, namely, to carry goods for the purchase of slaves to agents on the coast.

The Spanish master, Thomas Escheverria, and a Spanish crew, were shipped on board the *Mary* as passengers; among them were several individuals who were recognised as having been formerly captured in slave vessels, Escheverria himself having been master of the Spanish schooner *Norma*, when that vessel was captured with 234 slaves on board. The ship's articles set forth that the crew was engaged to navigate the *Mary* from the port of Havana to the Gallinas, *or wherever else the master may direct.*

In two of three papers which the master, *David Tomlinson*, produced to prove his American citizenship, he is styled *Pils B. Tomlimerty*, and in the third *P. B. Tomlinson*, while in the log, enclosed in Mr Stevenson's note, he is called Captain Thomason.

The clearance and bills of lading show that the owners of the cargo were

Blanco and Carvelho, Pedro Martinez and Co., Pedro Manegat, and Thomas Escheverria, the Spanish captain, all well known slave-traders; and the consignees, Thomas Rodrigues Baron, Ignacio P. Rolo, and Theodore Canot, of the Gallinas, long and well known to the naval officers employed in suppressing the slave-trade on the coast as factors for the purchase and shipment of slaves.

Thus the papers produced to the captain of the *Forester*, by Tomlinson, were of themselves sufficient to show that this was one of the then frequent cases in which the flag of the United States had been fraudulently assumed; and all doubt was removed as to the real character of the undertaking in which the vessel was employed, when, on further search, there were found on board of her slave coppers, two bags of shackles, large water-leaguers, and a slave-deck, the latter being noted as shipped under the denomination of five hundred feet of lumber.

Of the *Mary*, the above account is given by Lord Palmerston, in his letter to Mr Stevenson, of August 27th, 1841; and this is but one of the constantly occurring instances of the use made of the American flag, and American papers, to protect Spanish and American slave-dealers. The blush ought to mantle an American's cheek, when he sees the American government and an American minister stepping forward for the protection of such worthless outlaws, and stickling for the honour of the American flag, tarnished, polluted, and made an object of scorn, by protecting rapine, and plunder, and murder, and by waving over a traffick in which no crime is not involved, and into which no feeling of humanity enters.

In relation to the *Susan*, the only complaint of the American minister seems to have been, that she was "boarded" by the officer in command of her Majesty's brig *Grecian*, when off the light of Cape Frio, in April, 1839.

In justification of the detention of American vessels found engaged in the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, the British minister states:—

"That a formal agreement was entered into on the 11th of March, 1840, by the commanding officer of her Majesty's ships on the coast of Africa, and the officer commanding the vessel sent by the United States government to suppress the slave-trade of the United States on the African coast; and by that agreement, those officers, for the purpose of carrying into execution the orders and views of their respective governments respecting the suppression of the slave-trade, requested each other, and agreed to detain all vessels under the United States flag, found to be fully equipped for and engaged in the slave-trade; and it was agreed that such vessels should be eventually handed over to the United States cruisers, if proved to be United States property, and to British cruisers if proved to be Spanish, Portuguese, Brazilian, or English property. And that the commanding officers of her Majesty's vessels had no reason to suppose that, when giving effect to this agreement, by detaining vessels bearing the United States flag and engaged in the slave-trade, they were doing a thing which would be disagreeable to the government of the United States.

"But upon finding that this *was disagreeable* to the government of the United States, orders were given to the British commanders on the African coast not to interfere with American vessels engaged in the slave-trade; but at the same time they were instructed to visit vessels found on that coast, though showing the stars and stripes, and to examine them so far as to ascertain their national character. And here is the point of controversy between the two governments. The British minister expressly disavows any right to search or detain American vessels on the high seas in time of peace, though found engaged in the slave-trade, or committing any other enormity not prohibited by the laws of nations; but claims the right

of visiting them for the purpose of ascertaining their national character; that is, that the mere exhibition of the American flag, which any vessel that chooses may raise, shall not of itself be evidence of her character, since an English or Spanish ship, which she would have a right to capture when engaged in the slave-trade, could easily exhibit the United States flag."

Mr Stevenson, on the contrary, insists that the right of visitation cannot be exercised with respect to any vessel sailing under the American flag; but when pressed with the absurdity of this claim, he seems to retreat from his first position, and to confine himself to vessels rightfully entitled to wear the American flag. Lord Palmerston thus closes his argument against the grounds first taken by Mr Stevenson:—

"What would be the consequence if a vessel engaged in the slave-trade could protect herself from search by merely hoisting a United States flag? Why, it is plain that in such case every slave-trading pirate, whether Spanish, or Portuguese, or Brazilian, or English, or French, or of whatever nation he might be, would immediately sail under the colours of the United States; every criminal could do that, though he could not procure genuine American papers; and thus all the treaties concluded among the Christian powers, for the suppression of the slave-trade, would be rendered a dead letter. Even the laws of England might be set at defiance by her own subjects, and the slave-trade be invested with complete impunity. Her Majesty's government are persuaded that the United States government cannot maintain a doctrine which would necessarily lead to such monstrous consequences; but the undersigned is bound in duty frankly to declare to Mr Stevenson, that to such a doctrine the British government never could or would subscribe. The cruisers employed by her Majesty's government for the suppression of the slave-trade must ascertain, by inspection of papers, the nationality of vessels met with by them under circumstances which justify a suspicion that such vessels are engaged in slave-trade, in order that, if such vessels are found to belong to a country which has conceded to Great Britain the mutual right of search, they may be searched accordingly; and that, if they be found to belong to a country, which, like the United States, has not conceded that mutual right, they may be allowed to pass on, free and unexamined, to consummate their intended iniquity. Her Majesty's government feel convinced that the United States government will see the necessity of this course of proceeding."

Lord P. adds—"But her Majesty's government would fain hope that the day is not far distant when the government of the United States will cease to confound two things which are in their nature entirely different; will look to things and not to words, and perceiving the wide and entire distinction between that right of search which has heretofore been a subject of discussion between the two countries, and that right of search which almost all Christian nations have mutually given each other for the suppression of the slave-trade, will join the Christian league, and will no longer permit the ships and subjects of the Union to be engaged in undertakings which the law of the Union punishes as piracy."

Lord Aberdeen, the successor of Lord Palmerston upon the change of ministry, in his letter to Mr Stevenson of October 13th, 1841, thus presents the question at issue, the extent of the right claimed by the British cruisers, and the consequences of conceding the claim made by the American minister:—

"Mr Stevenson will admit that his objection to this interference would, under any circumstances, tend in its consequences to the protection of an abominable traffic, stigmatised by the whole Christian world; but the confession of Mr Stevenson that the trade is extensively carried on under the

fraudulent use of the American flag, does in truth justify the whole claim put forward by the British government.

"It constitutes that reasonable ground of suspicion which the law of nations requires in such a case. The admitted fact of this abuse creates the right of inquiry.

"The undersigned renounces all pretension on the part of the British government to visit and search American vessels in time of peace. Nor is it as American that such vessels are ever visited. But it has been the invariable practice of the British navy, and, as the undersigned believes, of all the navies in the world, to ascertain by visit the real nationality of merchant vessels met with on the high seas, if there be good reason to apprehend their illegal character.

"In certain latitudes, and for a particular object, the vessels referred to are visited, not as American, but either as British vessels engaged in an unlawful traffic, and carrying the flag of the United States for a criminal purpose, or as belonging to states which have by treaty conceded to Great Britain the right of search, and which right it is attempted to defeat by fraudulently bearing the protecting flag of the Union; or, finally, they are visited as piratical outlaws, possessing no claim to any flag or nationality whatever.

"Now, it can scarcely be maintained by Mr Stevenson that Great Britain should be bound to permit her own subjects, with British vessels and British capital, to carry on before the eyes of British officers this detestable traffic in human beings, which the law has declared to be piracy, merely because they had the audacity to commit an additional offence by fraudulently usurping the American flag.

"Neither could Mr Stevenson with more reason affirm, that the subjects of states which have granted to Great Britain the right of search should be enabled to violate the obligation of their treaties by displaying the flag of the Union, contrary to the will, and in defiance of the American government itself.

"Still less would Mr Stevenson pretend to claim immunity for piratical adventurers, who should endeavour to shelter their lawless proceedings under the ensign of the United States.

"But, unless Mr Stevenson be prepared to maintain these propositions, the whole fabric of his argument falls to the ground; for the undersigned admits, that if the British cruiser should possess a knowledge of the American character of any vessel, his visitation of such vessel would be entirely unjustifiable.

"He farther admits, that so much respect and honour are due to the American flag, that no vessel bearing it ought to be visited by a British cruiser, except under the most grave suspicions and well-founded doubts of the genuineness of its character.

"The undersigned, although with pain, must add, that if such visit should lead to the proof of the American origin of the vessel, and that she was avowedly engaged in the slave-trade, exhibiting to view the manacles, fetters, and other usual implements of torture, or had even a number of these unfortunate beings on board, no British officer could interfere further.

"He might give information to the cruisers of the United States, but it would not be in his own power to arrest or impede the prosecution of the voyage, and the success of the undertaking."

In reply to the letter from which our last quotation is made, and to escape from the position which he had certainly taken in relation to the sailing under the American flag, and the immunities derived from it, Mr Stevenson, on the 21st of October, and in his last communication, says —

"Indeed, the undersigned must have expressed himself very imperfectly, if, in denying the right of interfering with vessels under the American flag, he did not convey the opinion that he intended to limit his objections to vessels *bonâ fide* American, and not to those belonging to nations who might have fraudulently assumed the flag of the United States. With the vessels of other nations, whether sailing under their own or another flag, the government of the United States can have no authority or desire to interfere. The undersigned, therefore, did not mean to be understood as denying to Great Britain, or any other nation, the right of seizing their vessels, or punishing their subjects for any violation of their laws or treaties; provided, however, it should be done without violating the principles of public law, or the rights of other nations. Nor are such the consequences which can fairly be deduced from the argument which he had the honour of addressing to Lord Aberdeen, and which his lordship seems so greatly to have misapprehended. Great Britain has the undoubted right, and so have all other nations, to detain and examine the vessels of their own subjects, whether slavers or not, and whether with or without a flag purporting to be that of the United States; but in doing this, it must be borne in mind that they have no colour of right, nor will they be permitted, to extend such interference to the vessels or citizens of the United States, sailing under the protection of the flag of their country."

That Mr Stevenson is fully aware that the exemption from visitation of vessels claiming an American character, will greatly promote the slave-trade is evident. He says—

"That the right asserted by her Majesty's government may be regarded as important may not be doubted. Indeed, the undersigned would not act frankly toward Lord Aberdeen, if he were to pretend that the consequences of refusing the exercise of the right by the American government, might not throw very great difficulties in the way of executing the existing treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade; but, as he has taken occasion heretofore to observe, the admission can neither strengthen the claim of right, nor diminish the force of the objection to it, on the part of the United States."

We have looked through the correspondence for some cogent argument on the part of the American minister against the right of the claim made by Great Britain, or the expediency of its exercise; and we would willingly present to our readers extracts containing the strength of the argument. Lord Palmerston, in his letter of 27th August, from which we have already quoted, had said—

"The undersigned begs leave to state to Mr Stevenson, in reply to the remarks contained in his last note, that her Majesty's government do not pretend that her Majesty's naval officers have any right to search American merchantmen met with in time of peace at sea; but there is an essential and fundamental difference between searching a vessel, and examining her papers to see whether she is legally provided with documents entitling her to the protection of any country, and especially of the country whose flag she may have hoisted at the time. For though, by common *parlance*, the word flag is used to express the test of nationality, and though, according to that acceptation of the word, her Majesty's government admit that British cruisers are not entitled, in time of peace, to search merchant vessels sailing under the American flag, yet her Majesty's government do not mean thereby to say that a merchantman can exempt herself from search by merely hoisting a piece of bunting with the United States emblems and colours upon it; that which her Majesty's government mean is, that the rights of the United States flag exempt a vessel from search, when that vessel is provided with papers entitling her to wear that flag, and

proving her to be United States property, and navigated according to law."

After quoting this extract, Mr Stevenson thus replies:—

"Here is a direct assertion of a right, on the part of British cruisers, to *board* and *detain* all vessels sailing under the flag of the United States, whether American or not, for the purpose of ascertaining, by an examination of their papers, their national character, and deciding whether they are entitled to the protection of the flag of the country under which they sail. Now, it is proper to remark, that the attempt which his lordship makes to distinguish between the right of search (a right, however, which he disclaims) and that which he asserts, is wholly fictitious. They are essentially the same for all the purposes of the present discussion. Indeed, the right to board, detain, and decide upon the national character of vessels navigating the ocean in time of peace, may justly be regarded as more odious and insulting, and giving place to wider and more important injuries, than the right of search, which is purely a belligerent right, and cannot be enforced in time of peace. But if the distinction was admitted to be a sound one, yet nothing would be gained in support of the right which Lord Palmerston claims for her Majesty's government. The inquiry must still arise, whether a power even of *visitation* or *detention* can be rightfully or lawfully exercised by any nation over the ships of another in time of peace, upon the high seas. That it cannot, the undersigned will proceed briefly to show.

"And first, as to the principles of public law and the usages of nations. By these it is expressly declared, that the vessels of all nations, in time of peace, navigating the ocean, shall be exempt from every species and purpose of *interruption* and *detention*, unless engaged in some traffick contrary to the law of nations, or expressly provided for by treaty or compact. Now, although piracy is admitted to be an offence against the public law, and therefore punishable in every country and by every nation, no matter where committed, it must yet be borne in mind that all piracies are not offences against the law of nations. Piracy, therefore, by international law, and that which may be made so by the municipal law of particular states, are essentially of a different character, and to be treated accordingly. Hence it is, that offences declared to be piracy by the municipal law of any state, can only be tried and punished by the country within whose jurisdiction, or on board of whose ships on the ocean, the offence may have been committed. Now slave-trade is not cognizable under the law of nations. Although prohibited by most nations, and declared to be piracy by their laws, and especially by the statutes of Great Britain and the United States, it is yet not an offence against the public law, and its interdiction cannot be enforced by the ordinary right of *visitation, detention*, or search, in the manner that it might if it was piracy by the law of nations. That this is the acknowledged doctrine of international law cannot, it is presumed, be doubted. It is so expressly declared by all writers upon the law of nations, and has been acknowledged by the British government, through its highest judicial tribunals."

He then goes on to argue that the slave-trade is lawful to all nations who choose to practise it, and that, by the law of nations, none have a right forcibly to interfere for its abolition. This argument seems unnecessary and altogether aside from the question at issue, since no such power is claimed by the British government.

The foregoing summary of the correspondence which has taken place between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, is taken from the columns of the *New York Evangelist;* and exhibits most accu-

rately the points of difference between them, and the grounds they respectively take on this *questio vexata*. It only remains for us to point out to our readers to what extent the flag of the United States is prostituted in aid of the slave-traders of the Havana.

Her Majesty's Commissioners to Lord Palmerston, 13th June, 1840.

In October, 1836, five vessels sailed hence under the American flag, having arrived here about a month previously from the United States, equipped for the slave-trade,—viz.

Anaconda,	Martha,	and
Viper,	Rosanna,	Fanny Butler.

In that same month (October, 1836) the British Commissioners called the attention of Mr Consul Trist to the circumstance.

In 1837, eleven vessels sailed hence under the United States flag, for that purpose,—viz.

The Bee,	George Washington,	Joseph Hand,
Two Friends,	Perry,	Cleopatra,
Morris Cooper,	Teazer,	and
Terrible,	Washington,	Itramurra.

In 1838, nineteen vessels sailed hence under the United States flag, for that purpose,—viz.

Gabriel,	John Holland,	Florida,
Alexander,	Dolphin,	Hazard,
Dido,	Plant,	Clara,
Mary Hooper,	Venus,	Liberty,
Eagle,	Shark,	and
Fame,	Mary Jane,	William Savin.
Traveller,	Comet,	

In 1839, twenty-three vessels sailed hence under the United States flag, for that purpose,—viz,

Rebecca,	Hound,	Cutter Campbell,
Oriental,	Mary,	Nymph,
William Bayard,	Catherine,	John,
Morris Cooper,	Elvira,	Asp,
Perry Spencer,	Butterfly,	Hannah,
Wyoming,	Douglass,	Centipede,
Octavia,	Lark,	and
Joseph Wilding,	Hound,	Hyperion.

Thus, then, I showed you that for more than two years had the slave-traders been presuming upon impunity, to be ensured from the adoption of the United States flag, without the United States consul calling on his government to take the requisite measures to prevent it. For there could be no doubt that had he done so in a proper manner, the president would have taken much earlier notice of such communications, than have left it only to "near the close of the last session." (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1840, pp. 271, 272.)

Extract from Mr Van Buren's Message to Congress, of December 1839, in reference to the slave-trade.

"Recent experience has shown that the provisions in our existing laws which relate to the sale and transfer of American vessels while abroad are extremely defective. Advantage has been taken of these defects to give to vessels wholly belonging to foreigners, and navigating the ocean, an apparent American ownership. This character has been so well simulated as to afford them comparative security in prosecuting the slave-trade, a

traffic emphatically denounced in our statutes, regarded with abhorrence by our citizens, and of which the effectual suppression is nowhere more sincerely desired than in the United States. These circumstances make it proper to recommend to your early attention a careful revision of these laws, so that, without impeding the freedom and facilities of our navigation, or impairing an important branch of our industry connected with it, the integrity and honour of our flag may be carefully preserved."

FRANCE.—RIGHT OF SEARCH.

Abstract of Debates in the Chamber of Deputies.

Sitting of January 22, 1842.

The order of the day being the continuation of the discussion on the address, M. Billaut proposed an amendment to the fourth paragraph, which was as follows:—"Whilst your Majesty's government is creating in the interior, for our agriculture and manufactures, rapid and easy means of exchange, it contemplates the extension of our commercial relations, and opening new markets to the productions of our soil and our arts, the prudence with which it will conduct the negotiations that have been opened must be a guarantee that the national productions will retain the protection that is due to them."

The amendment proposed was to add, "Will be a guarantee also that in the arrangements for the suppression of the slave-trade your government will take those measures which shall place beyond attack the interests of our maritime commerce and the independence of our flag."

M. Billaut then proceeded to develop his amendment. In the discussion on the treaty, M. Dupin had said that prevention was better than cure; and this principle he (M. Billaut) considered applied equally to the question raised by his amendment. It relates to a treaty which is not yet ratified. After the ratification shall have been concluded, the evil would become more serious; the signature would then throw an obstacle in the way of the Chamber, and it was for this reason he had called their immediate attention to it. The right of search had been for the last century the object of the ambition of England, for it is one of the attributes of the sovereignty of the ocean to which she pretends. She has pursued this object through every phase, both of peace or war; whilst France, at the head of all the other maritime nations, contended for the principle that the flag covered the goods. Now, during a time of profound peace, England had, under a pretext of philanthropy, set up a claim to the right of search, and thus secured to herself the monopoly of the produce of the East. England proceeded silently to obtain her end, and would not let her object appear until sure of its attainment. Thus, in 1814, and at the congress of Vienna, she spoke of collective and not special measures. In 1822, the European powers, with France at their head, formally repelled the right of search. England, however, was not to be discouraged in her object. She waited quietly for a favourable opportunity, and from the first day after the revolution of July, the right of search was re-demanded at the first opening of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The right of search is granted reciprocally; the English cruisers cannot exceed double the number of the French. The situations where the right may be exercised are pointed out. This was a great point gained by England. France was the power who England most feared would oppose her pretensions. In 1833, the English ministry had demanded from parliament a bill, authorising the seizure of Portuguese vessels found beyond the Equator, and suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade. Remonstrances were made by the Queen of Portugal to the

powers who signed the treaty of Vienna. The same attempt was made with regard to Spain. Within a very short time, England has demanded the formation of a tribunal at Cuba, charged to pass in review those slaves imported since 1820, and to set them at liberty in the name of England on the territory of Spain. He should not, he said, have believed this fact, had it not appeared in an official journal. The idea was preposterous for one nation to propose to establish a tribunal in another nation for the support of its own pretensions. England had been making fresh attempts with the United States, but as she knew she should there meet with a vigorous resistance to her pretensions, she dissimulated her real designs. She demanded only the right to satisfy herself by searching out the nationality of the vessel, under the plea that hoisting the flag of a nation was not a sufficient guarantee of a vessel belonging to that nation. The American government, however, warmly repulsed this pretension, which they considered as highly insulting. England will, therefore, wait with patience with regard to America, and in the meantime she endeavours to bring over the powers of Europe to her views, under the pretence of thus strengthening the European concert. She will soon reap her own advantage from the measure, and is happy in having found out a new cloak for her designs. If England now abuses her right, he would say to the government, abuse yours; but that would cause war, and you have succeeded in combining all the powers against you. The right of search, contended the honourable deputy, was a serious attempt against the freedom of the seas. People might talk of reciprocity, but this was a fallacy, as England would take special care to have a superior force in every quarter where this reciprocal right might be used, and would, therefore, prevent the exercise of this right, and render the provision null, and thus render herself the sovereign mistress of the seas. France, however, had other destinies. At the head of a navy which was still more formidable, she had the power of uniting herself to the navy of Spain, Sweden, and Russia; and thus cause that power to tremble which would swallow up the world; and he anticipated the day, not perhaps far distant, when the United States would dispute the sovereignty of the seas with England in every quarter of the world. The honourable deputy contended that the day that the treaty was signed would be the day that France would put herself beneath the yoke of England, as the foundation of a policy which might have balanced the policy of England had been removed.

M. Guizot said the orator had sufficiently indicated the nature of his amendment. Its aim was to determine the Chamber to express a positive censure of the conventions concluded in 1831 and 1833 to render the suppression of the slave-trade efficacious. Its aim was not confined to the new treaty not yet ratified. He, the minister, first would declare that the reciprocity alleged to be refused to second-rate powers had, on the contrary, been granted. Sardinia, the Sicilies, Bremen, and Lucca, all enjoyed the reciprocity. Reciprocity was the sole guarantee of the weak against the strong, and was a great conquest for the weak. Without reciprocity those nations would not have consented to the treaty. Their honour would have been implicated. The treaties had for their aim merely to attain a laudable view, and the measures founded on them have as yet given rise to very few and small abuses, as the conventions contain a remedy for their abuses. The rights of the negroes were not called in question. He would mention to the Chamber the guarantees that there were. First, the cruisers must have the authorisation of both governments. The Queen of England could not alone give to an English vessel the right to stop and search a French vessel. The English cruisers must procure, also, a permit from the King of the French; and unless it shows this, the vessel stopped can resist. Is it

to be supposed that the King of the French would give these permits, if they were employed to the detriment of French trade?

A voice cried out, "Is the number limited?"

M. Guizot said, What matters? If the government should find the number of cruisers excessive, it would cease to give more permission. The second guarantee was in the nationality of the tribunal which pronounced on the validity of the capture. The third guarantee is in the clause declaring that if a vessel be arrested without sufficient motives, the tribunal can condemn the government of the capturing vessel to pay an indemnity for the capture. It is the only example of a power to condemn a foreign government. Are these guarantees sufficient? You may form a judgment when you are told that during ten years there has not been a single reclamation. The number of cruisers is as follows:—There are 124 English cruisers and 105 French. They are thus divided:—There are 37 French and 38 English in the West Indies; in the Brazils, 42 French and 49 English; on the coast of Africa, 13 French and 35 English; at Bourbon and Madagascar, 13 French and 4 English. You see the difference is not great.

Sitting of January 23.

M. Guizot continued: In one respect the new treaty introduced a notable change. The old convention granted the right of search in certain zones, around those places whence negroes were brought, and around those places where negroes were brought to. The coast of Africa and the shores of Brazil and Cuba were the principal points. Search was allowed around these; but was not allowed in the intervening space of the ocean, except when a slaver was perceived just within the allowed zone, and then it might be pursued anywhere. Hence contestations arose as to where the vessel could first be descried. Another evil was, that a slaver having once got safe from the coast of Africa, waited in the ocean, where it was free from search, till a fit opportunity offered for running through the other zone of search into Cuba or Brazil. Lord Palmerston, to obviate this, wished to extend the right of search to the entire ocean. France refused, and granted merely that part of the ocean between Africa and the countries which purchased slaves. The aim of the treaty was to destroy the slave-trade. Some alleged that England had more selfish views. He would not deny that temporal and personal interests did mingle with the noblest and most generous ones; but selfish and interested motives alone had never given rise to a movement so great as that which pursued the abolition of the slave-trade. That movement, which had led to important sacrifices, had originated in moral and religious feelings, or a wish to put an end to an infamous traffic, and to emancipate a great portion of the human race.

Here M. Isambert exclaimed, It is the truth.

Since 1789, said M. Guizot, France has done many great and generous things, blindly and passionately, without calculation. Is England incapable of the same? Did you attend those great meetings in England, where so many great and good men devote themselves to the holiest of causes—those meetings which M. Isambert and I have seen—you would be convinced that disinterested and generous sentiments, and a love of humanity, are more influential than any national selfishness, prompting to the pursuit of this great work. The question now is, whether it is to be abandoned or gone on with. He (the minister) was for going on with it. He could not believe that their commissions for the abolition of slavery, with all the talk on the subject, were but empty words. Experience could not inculcate such selfishness. On the contrary, it would recommend perseverance in what had been commenced. There might be objectionable results of these treaties, but there were also great and good results. Let the first be

remedied without destroying the latter. Ten years' duration and trial of the treaty had not given rise to any abuse of their work, notwithstanding the noise that had been made about it this day.

M. Dupin then rose. He was not (he said) a partisan of slavery. The question was not about the treaties of 1831 and 1833. No one thought of revoking them. The question was, their extension in 1842. And the refusal to communicate the terms of the new treaty to the commission of the address had roused its susceptibility. He blamed the extension of the zones, and the re-establishment of the *mare clausum* in lieu of the *mare liberum.* It was giving up the Atlantic, if not the ocean. The first article of the treaty of 1833 was a *loi des suspects*, but as it made part of a voted treaty, he would not revoke it. He found, however, that if ever it was felt necessary to get out of such a treaty, it would be more difficult when five powers were engaged in it than when it was only between two. The Americans now stood for the freedom of the seas, and resisted the right of search. In that case they ought to pay back to the French the twenty-five millions indemnity for damage done in resisting the right of search on the part of England. He would vote for a paragraph maintaining the independence of the national flag, but not touching the question of the slave-trade, to favour which would sully the country.

M. Villemain, minister of public instruction, said he was glad to see that M. Dupin abandoned M. Billaut's proposal to revoke the treaties of 1831 and 1833. Those treaties were voted by the very parties who oppose them now. Even the proposal to make slave-trading an act of piracy was supported by Benjamin Constant. There had been no abuses under the treaty of 1833; abuses were merely feared for the future. Were there not the guarantees that M. Guizot had recapitulated? Far from giving England any narrow supremacy, this treaty put her on an equality with all other European states.

M. Thiers then rose: He would explain the question. He did not want to revoke the treaties of 1831 and 1833, although he had nothing to do with them.

Here a voice exclaimed, "You were minister of commerce in 1833."

M. Thiers: True. But there was a difference between the convention of 1831 and that of 1833. The former, with which he had nothing to do, compromised the important rights of neutrals. That of 1833 did not do so, but added guarantees. He would not revoke those treaties, but he would oppose the present unratified one. It was alleged that the great right of neuters, for which France had struggled fifty years, was not now compromised. But look at America. Why did she resist what France ceded? America refused even to consent to the examination of her ships' papers. What susceptibility! Lord Aberdeen insists on discovering to what nation a vessel belongs. America replies—Do so at your peril; take care that the vessel which you do stop be not American. And is France, that made the great coalition of 1780 and 1800, to approve of what America repudiates? The right of search in time of peace was more serious than in time of war. For if ceded in the first case, how could it be refused in the second? Until 1831, France never made a cession on this important point, although all other powers had more or less yielded. The quarrel with respect to the right of search in war time had been simplified. Neutrals had found the means of rendering this right less vexatious. In order to escape being searched, they had made a rule that when they were convoyed by a vessel of their own nation, they could not be searched under convoy. This was a difficult point; it was what England had always contested, what it would never grant, and which was never consigned to writing. In time of peace it was a great fault to establish a precedent, because that precedent be-

came a greater cause of quarrel in time of war. In 1833 the right of reciprocal search in vessels employed for the slave-trade was granted. It had been added, that the other maritime powers should be invited to adhere to it, and regulations were made in order that the right of search might not be too vexatious. It was necessary to regulate, in 1838, the right of search granted in 1831, and indispensable guarantees were then added; for after the concession of the right of search it was necessary to make regulations in virtue of which this right might be exercised. Therefore, he repeated it, a valuable concession had been made in 1831, and nothing but guarantees were given in 1833. It was said that these guarantees were sufficient; they were so in a certain measure, but the new treaty now complained of had partly taken them away; first, by extending the zones in a frightful manner; secondly, in suppressing the limits to the number of cruisers. By the old treaty, France had it always in its power to limit the number of English cruisers by diminishing its own. Now this is impossible. The fact was, the treaty was made in London, not Paris, and the proof was, that there was a copy of the treaty in English, which is an abandonment of the privilege of the French tongue as the sole diplomatic one. Nay more, the longitude in the treaty was that of Greenwich, not Paris. It was said that the clause about double the number of cruisers was not possible, because this could not be applied to all the five powers. But some of the powers admitted slave-trading to be piracy, others not. Why not establish other differences as well as this? As to humanity, said M. Thiers, that can be no longer a motive with the English, for their vigilance causes cargoes of slaves to be flung into the sea, which surely is more inhuman than to let them be sold. The greatest objection, however, continued M. Thiers, is to the extension of the zones. By the former treaties French vessels could go from Senegal to the trade winds, turn the Cape, and go to the Indies, without being subject to the right of search. Now the whole ocean and the Indian seas were given up to British search. The French had not vessels enough to have cruisers to search English ships, and had not vessels enough to protect French interests and Frenchmen in the ports of the great ocean. How, then, could they send vessels to prevent the slave-trade? France could not do so without taking her sailors from her vessels of war to put them on board of brigs and corvettes, and send them to cruise idly in far seas; the English kept so many cruisers on the African coast merely for the sake of tormenting French trade; and their object in the new treaty was to comprise Senegal and Bombay in the same region, subject to their annoying right of search. You well know how odious the Isle of Bourbon is to the English. They wrested from us the Isle of France, where our troops had made so glorious a resistance. Bourbon is the only point which remains to France on the road to the Indies. A military post might be constructed there; the only means the English have of preventing this is by annoying every day the interests of our commerce. The advantages and inconveniences of a treaty are less felt here than at Bourbon. The colonists say that they only live by Madagascar; there they get their victuals, their cattle, wood, &c. Well, under pretext of pursuing slave traders, the English will stop under some pretext or other our ships. Suppose there are planks on board, and there must be some for cattle—

A voice: It was in the treaty of 1833.

M. Thiers: Your ships will have certificates: these will not be minded, as in the affair of the Marabout, which had one, and nevertheless was stopped; and the crew was not brought to Cayenne. Laws are made here, but how are they executed at sea? The English cruiser put on board the prize two men with an officer, and the crew of the Marabout

was brought to Bahia, where it still remains. That is what will happen in the commercial seas. You have preserved the French jurisdiction; but what minister could have abandoned it? You have prevented French sailors being hung to English yard-arms without being tried; you could not have permitted this without being tried here. Your guarantees are null; they only guarantee the lives of your sailors; that is the great privilege you have procured for the French marine. Boast of it before the eyes of the country!

Several voices: It is the convention of 1833.

M. Thiers: I know this perfectly. I have already said that I took share in it as a member of the cabinet; but I also said that the Duke de Broglie had added to the deplorable concession of 1831 very careful guarantees; and I add that if you have saved the lives of our sailors, you have not prevented them being transported, or our ship-owners from being ruined. And now, when a ship, authorised by the governor of a colony, goes for free slaves to employ them in the colony, the ship is stopped and captured; it invokes the treaties, shows its certificates; do you think it is easy to argue at sea? At the Isle of France our ships were nearly fired into by the English. You may demand indemnities, but will you get them? Your ships will have lost a year of their time, and your trade, ruined, will abandon the coasts where it meets with nothing but annoyance. He did not ask to revoke the concessions of 1831. He deplored their existence. The slave-trade is now sufficiently repressed. There now exists in the colonies a register of the civil state, and the negroes lately imported would be immediately confiscated and immediately set free. The interest of humanity is respected. He said former treaties were to be spoken of honourably, but not to be abused, for they had been ratified, and the means employed to enforce them had become suspicious. He asked why they allowed the treaty to stretch from Mogadore and Madeira to Cape Horn, to the Cape of Good Hope, and the sea of the Indies? Why, when they possessed the restrictive guarantee of the number of cruisers, did they abandon it? The repression of the slave-trade did not require this. The wants of their marine would not allow them to imitate the English in the extent of their cruisers. No political man looked without dread on the future state of French commerce in case of war. And, said he, did they know that the first thing England did, when war was declared between it and France, was to seize their vessels of commerce? But what will it be now? That in all seas the English have cruisers ready to fall on our ships. Their means of defence were their means of vengeance. With cruisers France might not make the English retreat by sea, but make them feel the dangers and damage of war. Now, let us boast before the eyes of France that we have given England cruisers superior to ours, which will ruin their commerce during peace, and totally destroy it at the beginning of war.

M. Guizot then rose and said that he would be brief, and that he only wished to establish certain facts. The first was, that the convention of 1833 had been made by the ministry of the 11th of October, and that certainly M. Thiers had had as much part in it as he, because M. Thiers was commerce minister, whilst he (M. Guizot) was minister of public instruction. He had taken his share of responsibility in the convention of 1833; he did not see why M. Thiers should refuse to accept his share.

M. Thiers then rose and said he did not say that.

M. Guizot said he begged the honourable member to be convinced that he did not wish to elude the distinction made by M. Thiers between the convention of 1831 and that of 1833. He would speak of it in a short time. What he then wished to say was, that he did not think it right for a minister of the 11th of October to say, talking of the treaty of 1833, "This is what

you have done! Boast of it." He had no desire to prolong a personal discussion, but he wished to state a fact which struck him, as well as the Chamber.

M. Thiers then said this was inexact.

M. Guizot again answered: M. Thiers spoke awhile of the effects of the convention of 1833—of the incident of the Marabout for instance. He described the deplorable consequences of this incident to French commerce and to French sailors, and he said, "Boast of it." He was ready to boast of it; but he wished M. Thiers to boast of it as well as he.

M. Thiers then rose and said he did not deny what was true. He had explained himself freely upon the two conventions: he said that the convention of 1831 had made a deplorable concession; that of 1833 had only done one thing—viz., limit the concessions and give some guarantees to assure France against the dangers which might threaten its commerce; but these guarantees were insufficient. The convention was insufficient, because, after the concession made in the treaty of 1831, there were no longer sufficient guarantees to cover French commerce. He said and repeated that the convention of 1833 had offered a greater guarantee for our navy, but had not corrected the concession of 1831. He added, that at the time of the treaty of guarantee of 1833, the inconveniences which threatened France at sea were not foreseen. But that convention was better than that which had just been made.

M. Guizot then said that M. Thiers had mingled up questions which he (M. Guizot) had carefully separated; that the affair of the zones had nothing to do with the present question. As to the difference between the convention of 1831 and that of 1833, the principal guarantees were contained in the convention of 1831, and the guarantee which, for instance, demanded that an order should be given by the two, and that no cruiser could act in virtue of an order from one government only, belonged to the convention of 1831. The object of the convention of 1833 was to complete that of 1831, to ensure the efficiency of the measures taken by the latter for the repression of the slave-trade, and, at the same time, to remedy possible abuses. The convention of 1833 did not disavow that of 1831, as M. Thiers had just said —it accepted its basis. M. Guizot then denied that the right of neutrals had been abandoned. He complained that the convention of 1833 permitted vessels under convoy to be searched; and yet the convention of 1833 prohibited expressly this very thing. If the United States resisted the right of search, it was because England pretended to press English sailors from on board American vessels. This was the great cause of American resistance. Were America in the place of France, it would not refuse to join the convention. As to the suppression of the clause limiting the number of any country's cruisers to double the number of the other—this was abandoned because inapplicable to Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The reproach that there was an English as well as a French copy of the treaty he could not consider serious. He had no objection to there being a German and a Russian copy. The extension of the zones was necessary to the efficacy of the repression of the slave-trade.

Sitting of January 24.

The President took the chair at two o'clock.

The order of the day was the continuation of the discussion on the paragraph on the address, to which M. Billaut had proposed an addition.

M. Jacques Lefèbvre proposed the following addition:—"We have also the confidence that in granting its assistance to the suppression of a criminal traffic, your government well know how to prevent all attempts against the interests of our trade and the independence of our flag."

M. Lacrosse proposed a fresh amendment to the paragraph:—"We have

the hope, that if your government adheres to new engagements relative to the slave-trade, it will know how to assist efficaciously in the suppression of that infamous traffic, at the same time preserving the legitimate interests of our maritime commerce and the independence of our flag."

M. Lacrosse ascended the tribune, and in support of his amendment said, that although he would maintain, but with regret, the treaties of 1831 and 1833, he should give his formal opposition to any extension of their provisions. If the Chamber wished that the address should contain a manifestation relative to the acts of the conference of London, that manifestation should be clear and positive. The amendment of M. Billaut, with the developments it had received, appeared to blame the anterior treaties: the amendment proposed by M. Lefèbvre appeared to grant unlimited confidence to future treaties. These, he said, were the two shoals he wished to avoid, and for that purpose he should persist in his amendment.

M. J. Lefèbvre said the three amendments were alike, inasmuch as they all blamed the right of search. M. Billaut appeared to attach most blame to the ancient treaties. M. Lacrosse had avoided that retrospective censure, which, he said, could be attended with no good result. The object of his (M. Lefèbvre's) amendment, he said, was applicable to all cases, and its principal meaning was to warn the government that at the first abuse, or the first occasion given, it should renounce any renewal of treaties which had become useless.

M. Berryer could not see the distinction to be drawn between the three amendments. All of them expressed the same opinion of the character, the object, and the consequences of the treaty to which they referred. There were, he said, three great maritime and commercial powers—France, England, and the United States of America. Their relative strength and their riches were not equal, but in case of any hostile struggle, that equality might be brought about by the alliances which would be formed by a community of principle, by the same zeal to preserve certain doctrines which are the guarantee of the liberty of the whole. The treaty under discussion is not of a purely diplomatic character. It touches on the most sacred right of property possessed by a country, and of which we ought to be the most jealous, and which we ought to defend with the greatest susceptibility. The question, in fact, is to decide whether within certain fixed limits, the government shall authorise an English cruiser to board a French vessel; to violate the domicile of a French citizen on the high sea, and to inspect his papers, his books, and his provisions; to demand of him why he had on board so much water, so much wood, so much rice, or any other article that he might find on board, and thus compel him to give an account of his means, and all the resources of the commercial enterprise in which he was engaged. For three centuries England had constantly pushed forward the demand for the right of search, and had been refused. It had been demanded by Elizabeth of King Henri, and was refused; by Wellington, in 1815; and at the congress of Verona; and the demand had always been met by the same refusal. It was reserved for the government of July, at length, to grant a concession which had been so long sought for on the one hand, and refused by the other. Not an instance, he said, had ever occurred of a French vessel, or a vessel under the French flag, being taken concerned in the traffic of slaves. No one could defend the trade; but it was impossible that the measures proposed to be taken could abolish it. Where then, he would ask, is the necessity for renewing a treaty without object, and more particularly for extending its conditions to the infringement of the sacred right of the free navigation of the ocean? These rights have already been submitted to an exception in case of smuggling warlike stores; but this exception was only good in time of war, and was confined to coun-

tries with which the nation was at war. The learned deputy contended that the right of search was not useful for the suppression of the slave-trade; it only caused the slavers who had those unhappy beings on board to throw them into the sea in the event of their being chased. The object of England in so pertinaciously demanding this right of search was in furtherance of her desire to assume the sovereignty of the ocean. The right of search, agreed upon in preceding treaties, was in this new one considerably extended; and thereby opened an immense field to collisions and difficulties between two naval rivals in all parts of the world. The whole maritime commerce of France, he contended, was laid open to the *surveillance* of the English. In conceding the right of visit, you have lost the right of lending your flag, for it is no longer inviolable. You have torn the code of nations—the protecting code of national interests and honour. England has many questions of dispute with the United States, in which France may find herself implicated. If England makes a *casus belli* of this treaty, which America refuses, what will you do? You are tied—engaged [here were cries of "No, no"]. You cannot (continued M. Berryer) withdraw from a treaty signed by the Five Powers. Your enemy is England, who has deceived you so lately, and who now gets you into a treaty of five, where you stand alone. He had so much mistrust, that he would do everything to prevent the ratification of the treaty. He did not understand the amendment of M. Lefèbvre, and he would vote for the complete independence of France on this question.

M. de Tracy said it was not sufficient to declare the slave-trade abominable, for all admitted it to be so, but they must not limit themselves to vain protestations. There must be some better provision for the suppression of the slave-trade than the mere power of capturing a slaver when its enchained slaves were visible on her decks. The right of search was absolutely necessary, and without it the trade could not be suppressed. It had been said of the treaty of 1831, that it was entered into under the influence of an Anglomania. This he denied. The treaty was the result of the honest and conscientious labours of a committee, of which he had formed part, and which had in view the real and efficient means of putting down the slave-trade. Enthusiasm for England had nothing to do with the treaty; it had been brought about by the horrible nature of the facts connected with the traffic against which it was directed, and the unanimous determination of humane and benevolent minds.

M. Billaut again addressed the Chamber in defence of his amendment, and read a passage from a speech of M. Benjamin Constant against the right of search.

Marshal Sebastiani said that M. Benjamin Constant had changed his opinion, for he had at a period subsequent to the speech alluded to by M. Billaut reproached him (Marshal Sebastiani) for not having, in the part which he took in attempting to put down the slave-trade, placed that traffic upon the same footing as piracy.

M. Lefèbvre said whatever might be his objections to the treaty, he thought the responsibility of the ratification or non-ratification ought to be left to the ministry, who could not, perhaps, without compromising the dignity of the country, withhold the ratification. He thought that the recommendation of the Chamber, that the honour and independence of the French flag should be protected, would not be made in vain.

Admiral Duperre said he should oppose the amendment, because the treaty was not susceptible of the abuses which had been supposed. From the year 1831 to the present time no complaint had arisen as to the seizure of French vessels by English cruisers, with the single exception of the affair of the Marabout. As to what had been said of the guarantees of

the treaty being illusory, he would declare that he was of a very different opinion, for French cruisers had always practised the right of search as English cruisers had done.

Admiral Lalande said that the officers of the French navy were naturally susceptible on any point affecting the freedom of the seas, for which France had ever contended; and without being opposed to the principle of the treaty of 1841, he could wish to see it revised. For instance, he thought that where suspicion was entertained that a vessel was engaged in the slave-trade, the rules and precautions adopted in ordinary cases by the vessels of different countries, in order to ascertain whether the colours borne by a suspected vessel were really those which she was entitled to bear, should in this case also be followed.

Marshal Sebastiani then entered into some explanations relative to the treaty of 1831, to which he had, he said, affixed his signature. He stated that the treaty of 1831 was the result of the long-entertained and ardent desire to suppress the slave-trade, and cautioned the Chamber against indulging in the exaggerated national susceptibility which led to the suspicion that other nations were perfidious in their relations with France. As regarded the English, he expressed his confidence that they would not by their conduct justify such suspicions. He said he felt honoured by his acquaintance with that generous nation.

M. Guizot said a double duty again called him to the tribune. The first was towards the great and holy cause which he had always advocated, and which he would not now desert; the second was his duty to the crown, and whose rights he would not abandon. It had been argued amongst other things, that for the last ten years not a single French vessel had been engaged in the slave-trade. He was glad to hear this, for it was a proof that the treaties of 1831 and 1833 had washed out the stain of infamy from the French flag. But if the slave-trade was no longer carried on under the French flag, it was carried on under flags which neither France nor England had a right to interfere with, and therefore it was that they desired to make the treaty common to other countries. This was the true object of the negotiations which had taken place. The hon. speaker said it had been observed by M. Berryer, that so long as the United States refused to become a party to the treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade, all that could be done by the other powers would be vain, and it was insinuated that an attempt would be made to compel that country to accede to the treaty. I wish (added M. Guizot) it were in my power to induce the United States to become a party to the convention, for my success would do honour to my country, and render a great service to humanity; but God forbid that the slightest constraint should be used in order to compel any nation to become a party to the treaty. The United States are free, and will remain free. On the day when they shall have acceded to the conventions, they will have performed a noble work, for they will then have accomplished the abolition of the treaty in the whole world; but do not let it be imagined for a moment that the freedom of the seas will be involved in this question. That will remain as it was. The slave-trade has no connexion with the question of the freedom of the seas, for, like piracy, this traffic is excluded from all common right. It has been assimilated also to the recognised right which exists in the case of the contraband of war. Are you willing that the traffic in human flesh should be treated with the rigour which, in the case of the contraband trade of war, is admitted by all the world? And does this exception to the great principle of the freedom of the seas affect that principle? No, gentlemen; on the contrary, the principle is rendered more sacred by the exception. M. Guizot continued by saying that a new case had been

added to those which all civilised nations recognised. They could not say that no case like it existed; they themselves proclaimed others. They had spoken of piracy and contraband of war. They had proved that, according to the principles avowed by all nations jealous of liberty at sea, and according to the principles professed by France itself, contraband of war was forbidden, and the right of searching neutrals existed in order to stop contraband of war. What the conventions of 1831 and 1833 had done was to consider human flesh as contraband of war. They did nothing more and nothing less; they assimilated the crime of the slave-trade to that of contraband of war. The sea remained free as before; there was only one more crime added to the code of nations, and there were nations which in common wished to repress this crime. And on the day in which all nations will have taken this engagement, the crime of slave-trade will disappear; on that day the men who have pursued that noble aim through political storms and party battles will be honoured in the world; and he hoped that his name would appear among those. He had another duty to fulfil. He had defended the prerogatives of the negroes, now he would defend those of the crown. In 1838, in the month of December, France and England together proposed to Austria, Prussia, and Russia, not only to adhere to the treaties preceding those of 1831 and 1833, but to form a new treaty, the text of which they proposed, conformable to the treaty which now occupied the deliberations of the Chamber. After three years' negotiations the treaty was accepted and concluded. He confessed that the treaty was not yet ratified, and he was not one of those who regarded the ratification as a mere formality, which could not be refused when the signature was given. The ratification of a treaty was a serious act and a free act, and he was the first to proclaim it so. This was a new incident for the Chamber; it might, by the expression of its opinion, put a great obstacle in the way of the ratification; but in that embarrassment the liberty of the crown, and of the ministers of the crown, should remain entire. The liberty of ratifying, or not ratifying, remained entire, whatever might be the opinion of the Chamber. No doubt the opinion of the Chamber, if the Chamber did express its opinion, was of great weight, but it was not decisive. He added, besides that consideration, there were others as grave, for there are few things more serious than for a government to put itself in opposition with other powers with which it holds amicable intercourse, and say, "that what was proposed three years ago, it would not ratify now." The powers have accepted it at the demand of France; had made certain objections, and demanded certain changes. These objections were removed, the changes were made, all was agreed, and yet now he was not to ratify. There was something serious for the authority of the government and the honour of the country. The honour of the country was interested in proposing nothing which was not to be held to, in having weighed three years ago the question which was now deliberated upon. The authority of government, the honour of the country, and the interest of the question under debate, were powerful motives, which a minister would be very wrong to forget. He repeated it, whatever was the decision of the Chamber, the liberty of government—of the king, will remain entire. When he would pronounce definitively, he would weigh all considerations, and decide under his own responsibility. The Chamber would find him ready to accept it.

M. Odillon Barrot spoke in favour of the amendment, but there was so much noise in the chamber, with calls for a division, that he could only be heard at intervals.

M. Dupin said he should vote for the amendment of M. Lefèbvre.

M. Lacrosse said he would consent to the amendment of M. Lefèbvre standing instead of his own.

M. de Tracy proposed that the words "will continue to preserve" should be introduced. (This sub-amendment was put to the vote, and rejected.)

The additional paragraph, proposed by M. Lefèbvre was then put to the vote, and almost unanimously adopted.

The subject was resumed in the Chamber on the 19th of May, when speeches were delivered against the ratification of the treaty of 1841, by M. M. Lefèbvre, De la Martine, Manguin, Berryer, De Tocqueville, Dupin, and Salvandy. In reply, M. Guizot maintained that the protocol signed in London by the French ambassador on the 13th of December, 1838, constituted a moral engagement for France.

"For (remarks M. Guizot) the protocol signed on the 13th was on the 15th communicated to government. The government made no answer, gave no fresh instructions, did not disown its ambassador, and the then existing cabinet remained in office for more than two months after this. These are facts. Can it be said, therefore, that France had taken no moral engagement with the three continental powers? Is it nothing, then, for an ambassador to have made a formal proposal—to have signed a deed—to have presented the plan of a treaty, drawn up in separate articles—to have proposed it, in concert with Great Britain, to three other powers—is this nothing?" M. Guizot then entered into some explanations on what has taken place relative to the non-ratified treaty of 1841, and why the protocol is still kept open. In his opinion the only two great difficulties of the question reside in the moral engagement, and in the protocol being still kept open. "But," said M. Guizot, "to these already great difficulties are to be added those of an inferior order, but more distressing—difficulties which arise from the situation of the present cabinet, and from the personal situation of the foreign minister. I do not flinch from these palpable difficulties, though I strongly feel them, for they weigh upon me more than upon any other person. But what advantage is taken of these? They are laid hold of to embitter and to aggravate the more important difficulties of the question and of the country."

M. Guizot at great length proceeded to examine the question in all its details. He repeated that France was morally engaged by the signature of her ambassador, and said, "It is only nations and governments that have no self-respect, who take no heed of their words or note of their proposals. My opinion is that every word uttered, every step taken, in the name of France is of importance. Believe me, gentlemen, it is not by maintaining that words are air, that engagements are of no value, that it is indifferent to have approved or disapproved of them, that you will render negotiations with France easy. The more you are exact and scrupulous in what you say and do, the more you will be respected, and better and more *facile* will become your relations with others." M. Guizot concluded by saying, "Gentlemen, we are still free. The treaty is not ratified. Officially, diplomatically, we are free. The foreign powers towards whom, in the course of the negotiations, we were morally engaged, having considered the nature and strength of our institutions, and measured the weight of public opinion, recognise that we are at liberty. But, in the name of God, gentlemen, let us only think of how we can reasonably and honourably come out of a difficult situation. Let this be our only consideration. A great responsibility rests with the cabinet, particularly with me. I accept it fully and without hesitation. The Chamber knows our

position—what we can do—what we cannot do. I have taken the only engagement that I can take, which is not to advise the ratification of the treaty, such as it is. I have said that from the complicated elements of the question, time might bring about such changes as may ultimately ensure a satisfactory solution of the present difficulties. It depends, therefore, on the House to assist government in this arduous labour, or to aggravate its situation."

The following correspondence will show the position of the question of ratification previously to the debates on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Earl of Aberdeen to Lord Cowley.

Foreign Office, December 20, 1841.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, by her Majesty's command, that I have this day signed, on the part of her Majesty, with the plenipotentiaries of their Majesties the King of the French, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, a treaty for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

I herewith transmit to your excellency a copy of that treaty.

Immediately upon the receipt of this despatch, you will solicit an audience of his Majesty the King of the French, in which you will express to his Majesty the high gratification which her Majesty feels at uniting with his Majesty and other great powers of Europe in the cause of mercy and of justice, by a league the sole object of which is to alleviate the sufferings of humanity.

You will also express to the French minister the warm satisfaction of her Majesty's government in having been enabled to follow up the great, the liberal, and the humane principles recorded in the declarations of the principal powers of Europe at the congresses of Vienna and of Verona, by concluding a treaty for the beneficent end proposed in the compact signed this day.

You will, on the part of her Majesty's government, urge the French minister to have the French ratification of the treaty prepared and transmitted to London without delay, in order to its being exchanged against the ratification of her Majesty as soon as possible, within the term prescribed by the treaty.

(Signed) Aberdeen.

Lord Cowley to the Earl of Aberdeen.

Paris, December 24, 1841.
(*Received December* 26.)

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch of the 20th instant, enclosing a copy of the treaty for the suppression of the African slave-trade, signed by your lordship on the part of her Majesty, and by the plenipotentiaries of their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia.

I lost no time in waiting upon M. Guizot, to whom I communicated the contents of your lordship's despatch, and he expressed his entire concurrence in the satisfaction of her Majesty at the conclusion of this treaty, *and assured me that no time should be lost in preparing the ratification of it, which should be transmitted to London with as little delay as possible.*

He also promised to procure for me an early audience of king Louis Philippe, for the purpose stated in your lordship's despatch.

I beg to offer my sincere congratulations to your lordship upon the conclusion of a compact which holds out *a fair prospect* of accomplishing an object so interesting to humanity, and for the attainment of which so many sacrifices have been made by Great Britain.

(Signed) COWLEY.

(Slave-trade Papers, Class C, 1841, pp. 77, 78.)

The foregoing articles clearly show that it is vain for this country to expect that France and the United States will co-operate with her in the suppression of the slave-trade. The United States utterly repudiates all treaties having that object in view, and France now refuses the ratification of a treaty solemnly negotiated with the other great powers of Europe. Under these circumstances, even if we had no experience to guide us, what reasonable hope can be entertained that the mighty evil will ever be subdued by a maritime police?

No. VI.

MONTE VIDEO (URUGUAY).

FROM the Slave-trade Papers it appears that there has existed in Monte Video, for several years past, a "company for importing slaves *under the name of colonists*, into the province of Uruguay, and other places in South America; at the head of which the outlawed Brazilian subject, Teadro Villaça, and L. A. de Carvalho e Castro, appear to be. This Carvalho is also described as having been the shipper of the slaves of the *Rio de Plata*, taken under Monte Videan colours, and prosecuted to condemnation before the Mixed Commission at Rio." (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1837, p. 75.)

The company alluded to in the foregoing extract was formed in 1834, and was composed of natives and Brazilians, the minister of the day, it is said, for a valuable consideration, having licensed them "to import 2,000 slaves as colonists." The object of the company, however, was not to confine the supply of slaves, under the name of colonists, to "the oriental province of Uruguay, but to introduce them into the southern ports of Brazil, and also into the provinces of La Plata." Some of the negroes thus imported were "conveyed to Buenos Ayres, where they were sold with little concealment." (Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1834, pp. 78 and 82.)

Her Majesty's Commissioners to Viscount Palmerston.

Sierra Leone, June 22, 1840.
(*Received September* 17.)

MY LORD,—We have the honour of acquainting your lordship that her Majesty's sloop of war, *Fantôme*, under the command of Edward Harris Butterfield, Esq., detained on the 12th of April last the brig *Republicano*, sailing under the Monte Videan flag, in latitude 25.21 south, and longitude 12.48 west, on suspicion of her being Brazilian property, and concerned in the slave-trade.

The detained vessel was sent to this port for adjudication, where she arrived on the 18th ultimo, and on the 20th was presented to the British and Brazilian court for trial, on the grounds above-mentioned; and the proceedings in the case having established that the *Republicano* was enti-

tled to a Brazilian national character, as well as her employment in the slave-trade, her condemnation was decreed by the court on the 5th instant.

Our report of this case is herewith transmitted for your lordship's information.

This vessel, it appeared from the evidence, was formerly called the *Pampeiro*, under which name, and the Brazilian flag, she was long and successfully employed in the slave-trade of Brazil.

Under her last name of *Republicano*, she was also employed in the same unlawful traffic, though bearing the Monte Videan flag and pass, and ostensibly bound to the Canaries, with the object of conveying thence a number of colonists to Monte Video.

Luis Antonio de Carvalho e Castro, the master of the slave-ship *Incomprehensivel*, condemned here in February, 1837, and one of the leading men in the Monte Videan company established for conveying slaves into the republic of the Uruguay under the name of colonists, was concerned in this vessel, he being represented as her consignee at the Canaries. In this character it is more than probable he would have been found on the vessel reaching the Portuguese possessions in Southern Africa.

The passport granted to this vessel by the consul for Uruguay at Rio de Janeiro appears to have given to her a more extended destination than was regular, upon which we have remarked in our report of the case. Indeed, every facility appears to have been afforded to the planners of this expedition by the Uruguay consul, as well as by other officials at Rio de Janeiro, as we find that in the short space of one day she was nominally sold, then placed under the Monte Videan flag and pass, the consul's certificate respecting her questionable equipment sought and obtained, a bill of health from the proper authorities furnished, cleared at the custom-house, and then put to sea. We have, &c.

(Signed) R. Doherty,
Walter W. Lewis.

(Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1840, p. 237.)

PERU.

On the 5th June, 1837, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the confederation of Peru-Bolivia, the 14th article of which contained the following stipulation: "The government of the Peru-Bolivian confederation engages to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty for the total abolition of the slave-trade, and to prohibit all persons inhabiting within the territories of the Peru-Bolivian confederation, and subject to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in such trade."

Since Peru separated from Bolivia, the British agent in the former has been directed to open a negotiation for a treaty with that republic, on the basis of the treaty of 1835 with Spain; but the Peruvian government, alleging that the constitution of Peru does not authorise treaties with any other states than those of America, declined to enter into the proposed negotiation. The true reason, however, for refusing to negotiate the treaty will be found in the following extract of a letter from Mr Wilson, consul-general in Peru, to Viscount Palmerston, dated Lima, January 11th, 1840.

"I profited by this opportunity to invoke the serious attention of the government of his excellency General Gamarra to the circumstance—to the circumstance not only of the injurious moral effect upon the national cha-

racter of Peru, but also of the general impolicy and fruitlessness of attempting, by legislative or other means, to encourage a trade in slaves from New Grenada or the Brazils; it being notorious that, to promote that traffic, the congress of Huancayo had omitted to introduce into the new political constitution thereby issued, the customary constitutional guarantee, 'that nobody can enter Peru without immediately becoming free.'"

At the time of sending in this note I waited upon Mr Ferreiros, for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent his government was prepared to encourage the traffic in slaves; and he, Mr Ferreiros, made no hesitation in stating to me that the import of slaves from the Brazils, or any other country but Africa, would be favoured by his government; who with this object was fully resolved, upon the arrival of the first cargo of slaves in Peru, to repeal the decree issued on the 24th November, 1821, by General San Martin, declaring that "any slave arriving from that date in Peru should become free by the mere act of setting his foot upon the Peruvian territory."

Subsequent to this interview with Mr Ferreiros, I, in common with every individual who has perused the law, and who is possessed of a particle of humanity, have been scandalised by the publication of a law, issued by the congress of Huancayo on the 27th November, declaring that the children of slaves declared free by the decree of the 12th August, 1821, shall remain under the protection of the owners of their fathers until they shall attain the age of fifty years; and authorising the masters to cede their so-called patronage to a third party, by any of the means sanctioned by the law for the transmission of rights.

This law robs of their birthright men declared by law to be born free, and dooms them to a state of continuous slavery, until the period of their lives at which, in the debilitating and unhealthy climate of Peru, manual labour can no longer be available to a task-master, and when life itself, in these unfortunate men, is generally but disease and wretchedness.

By a supreme decree, dated 24th November, 1821, it is enacted, that as a just remuneration of the expenses incurred by the master in the maintenance and education of their freed men, particularly in their infancy, these are obliged to serve their patrons till the age to be thereafter determined by law—namely, twenty-one years.

The so-called patrons have, however, universally neglected to perform this their duty imposed by law towards their freed men, whom, on the contrary, they have kept in an unmitigated state of slavery; nevertheless, in the second article of the preamble of the law under discussion, it is set forth as a justification for retaining these freed men in slavery till the age of fifty years, that they have neglected to procure education for their children under the protection of their former masters—that is, under the protection of men who with impunity have set at defiance the law, which imposed upon them the duty of educating these very freed men, in whom it is thus denounced as a crime, that they have omitted to procure an education for their children from patrons who have withheld it from themselves.

It is a lamentable fact, that the congress of Huancayo, by consenting to the before-mentioned omission in the constitution, of the usual guarantee, prohibiting the import of slaves into Peru, and by the promulgation of the law above referred to, has been induced to set at defiance a vital principle of universal morality, and of Peruvian national policy—namely, the complete extirpation of the traffic in slaves, and of slavery itself, in Peru, out of deference alone to the personal interests of three large slave-holders, political partisans of the actual government.

The curse of slavery is, therefore, another of the many evils inflicted

upon Peru by the overthrow therein, by the arms of Chili, of the honest and enlightened government of his excellency General Santa Cruz, which stood formally pledged to conclude with Great Britain a treaty for the entire suppression of the slave-trade, and for declaring the crime of slave-trade piracy. (Slave-trade Papers, Class D, 1840, pp. 34, 35.)

The British government have remonstrated in strong language against the course taken by the Peruvian authorities, and hold them bound by the Peru-Bolivian treaty of 1837, to prohibit the slave-trade in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws. (Bandinel, pp. 259, 260.)

No. VII.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY NECESSARY TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE African institution was formed in 1807, immediately on the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain, to promote the civilisation and happiness of the natives of Africa. Its originators and supporters, composed of the most distinguished philanthropists and the most eminent statesmen of the time, thought that through a legitimate commerce with Africa they might introduce the arts of peace and the blessings of Christianity among its tribes, and thus, in some measure, compensate for the intolerable wrongs inflicted upon them by the cupidity and wickedness of European nations. They thought that "a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length," would be opened to their benevolent enterprise. In this they were deceived. The slave-trader still continued to prowl along the coast, and infest the rivers and creeks of that vast continent, and thus completely to defeat their object. Twenty years the institution laboured with indefatigable industry and great ability to extinguish the foreign slave-trade, but in vain! It increased both in extent and in horror, and finally, in 1827, they closed a series of able reports, the records of their labours and disappointments, in the following eloquent, remarkable, and impressive words :—

"It is in slavery that the slave-trade has its origin: it is the market provided by the slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent: and if so, is the conduct of Great Britain quite consistent in cherishing and even encouraging slavery with all its attendant sales and transfers of human beings in our colonies, while on principle she repudiates and proscribes and capitally punishes the slave-trade in every other part of the world? Let it not be supposed that it is intended to blame the righteous zeal which has been manifested in the suppression of the slave-trade, and which has produced such splendid results. But has not our own success, with respect to the slave-trade, been greatly impeded by the selfish inconsistency of our conduct in respect to slavery? It may be doubted whether there be a single argument which can be advanced for maintaining slavery in our colonies for a single day after it is in our power to abolish it, which will not be found to be as valid a plea, morally considered, for continuing to strip Africa of her inhabitants, to supply Cuba, or the Brazils, or even our own colonies, with labourers. The atrocities of the slave-trade may, it is true, practically far exceed those of slavery; yet the principle of both is identically the same; equally opposed to humanity and justice, and to every principle of

the Gospel; and equally indefensible on every plea of financial and commercial expediency. And who, after all, will venture to affirm, that, viewed in the whole range of their results, the atrocities of the slave-trade, though more palpable to observation, and striking more directly and forcibly on the senses, outweigh in the sum of misery they produce the evils of slavery —of a protracted and irremediable and perpetual servitude, living through the life of the slave, and renewed in his children, and children's children, to the latest generation? Let any man think but of the perpetually impending scourge, the interminable toil to which it urges, the stocks, the blows, the contempt, the degradation, the hunger, the lassitude, the disease, the agony of broken and bleeding hearts, and all the nameless and scarcely conceivable inflictions which await those, whose own destinies, and those of every endeared relative—wife, husband, child—are bound up in the will of any individual who claims them as his slaves, without any effectual, nay, any possible protection from law against his tyranny and caprice. Let any one but think of all this, and he will perhaps see no very cogent reason for exempting the slavery which exists in our colonies, from a moral reprobation to the full as severe as we pass on the slave-trade, or for not exhibiting it alike as an outrage on every principle of justice, humanity, and true religion." (Extracted from the last report of the African Institution, 1827, pp. 33—35.)

No. VIII.

FLAGS WHICH COVER THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Her Majesty's Commissioners at Sierra Leone, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated 31st December, 1839, observe, "Three of the vessels condemned during the year (*Violante*, *Ontario*, and *Sete d'Avril*,) continued under the protection of the American papers, with which they cleared out from the island of Cuba until the very moment when they took on board the cargo of slaves which formed the ground of their condemnation; and two of these vessels, the *Violante* and *Sete d'Avril*, whilst still professing to be the American schooners *Mary Ann Cassard* and *Mary Cushing*, were among those whose admission to prosecution in the Spanish court had been refused. Numerous other instances have been pointed out by us, in which *the flag and pass of the United States, so readily granted by the American consuls at Havana, Matanzas, and Bahia, have availed to protect the slave-trade of foreigners.*" (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1840, p. 12.)

In a despatch dated 8th September, 1840, the Commissioners, after announcing the capture of the *Bella Fiorentina*, which sailed under Tuscan colours, say, "We beg leave to request your lordship's attention to *the disgraceful manner in which Mr Pluma, the consul-general of Tuscany at Havana, sought to protect this vessel from capture and condemnation, by issuing to her false papers prepared by himself.*" (Ibid pp. 87, 141.)

The brigantine *Christiano* was captured *under Danish colours obtained at St Croix*, a Danish island in the West Indies, though fully proved to be a Spanish vessel. (Ibid p. 109.)

Extract of a letter from Mr Ouseley to Lord Palmerston, dated 12th August, 1840.

"I regret to say that the flag of the United States is now employed in carrying on, or facilitating, the slave-trade both here and at Bahia. The

Sardinian flag also and that of Brazil are used in taking small numbers, from 10 to 30 young negroes, from this port and from along the coast, together with a legal cargo; and these negroes, all of the class denominated "boçal," or new negroes, are afterwards sold at Monte Video." (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1840, p. 178.)

Extract of a letter from Consul Porter to Lord Palmerston, dated Bahia, 27th October, 1841.

"It has been notorious for some time past that trade from this to the coast of Africa has been chiefly carried on under the French flag. These vessels have hitherto been so fortunate in making profitable voyages, that individuals here erroneously imagined that English cruisers had instructions not to intercept them, consequently several French vessels have of late been chartered, the greater portion, I believe, by the new company (for carrying on the slave-trade) to which I referred in my enclosure to my despatch of the 22nd September last." (Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1841, p. 783.)

The number of slavers captured and condemned by the various Mixed Commission courts at Sierra Leone, Havana, and Rio de Janeiro, in 1840, was 35; in 1841 was 28; in all 63—of which eight were seized under cover of the United States flag; 16 under the Portuguese flag; 16 under the Spanish flag; 18 under the Brazilian flag; 1 under the Monte Videan flag; and 4 under none; in all 63. (Par. Papers, Class A, No. 385, 1842, pp. 14—17.)

The flags which have been most used to cover the slave-trade from the northern coast of Africa to the Levant, are the Tuscan, Russian, Greek, and Ottoman flags, whilst those of the Arab chiefs have been mostly employed in the slave-trade from the eastern coast, for the supply of victims to the states bordering on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. (Slave-trade Papers, Class D, 1840, pp. 11, 12, 21, 24; and Parliamentary Papers, 262, 1841, pp. 173—187.)

No. IX.

PORTS AT WHICH VESSELS ARE FITTED OUT FOR THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the year 1839 sixty-one vessels passed through the courts of mixed commission at Sierra Leone. Of these forty-eight were furnished with Portuguese papers, obtained as follows:—six at Lisbon, eighteen at Cape de Verde, five at Bissâo, ten at Princes Island, two at the Island of St Thomas, four at St Paul de Loanda, one from the Portuguese consul at Rio de Janeiro, one from the Portuguese general consul at Baltimore, and one at some place unknown; the remainder of the sixty-one vessels sailed under the Spanish and Brazilian flags, but whence they obtained their papers does not appear.

There were twelve other vessels captured—viz., one Russian and eleven American; but in reference to them the commissioners say, "They were not admitted to prosecution in the mixed courts, because, in our opinion, they were exempt from capture by the fact that they were sailing under a flag and pass of a power which has not conceded to our cruisers the right of visiting, searching, and detaining her vessels for any purpose whatever. Every one of these vessels," they add, "was engaged in the Spanish slave-trade, or in the mixed slave-trade, which is carried on to a great extent,

partly with Bahia, and partly with Havana." These slavers "received their registers severally as follows:—six at Baltimore, three at New Orleans, one at Mobile, one at Philadelphia, and one sailing under Russian papers obtained at Odessa." (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1840, p. 11.)

In announcing the capture of the Spanish felucca *Si*, the commissioners at Sierra Leone state that "the *Si* cleared out from *Barcelona* in the month of April, and within six weeks after leaving that port she was on her voyage to Havana, from Gallinas, with the slaves (360) which had been embarked in that river." (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1840, p. 38.)

In a subsequent communication the commissioners say, "This case (that of the *Diana*) appears likely to afford the Spanish government an opportunity, if desired, of punishing one of the parties concerned in fitting out and dispatching from *Cadiz* a vessel destined for the slave-trade, as this brigantine has been plainly proved to be." (Ibid., p. 165.)

In another report they say, "It will be seen that the *Passos* was one of the numerous vessels employed in the purchase and transport of slaves from the mainland to the Islands of Princes and St Thomas's. Every encouragement and assistance are afforded by the government authorities of these islands to the persons engaged in this illicit commerce; and, as if to throw ridicule on the prohibitory laws which have been passed against the slave-trade, the notorious Antonio Dionizeo Furtado, whose malpractices at the Cape de Verde Islands have been so frequently represented, appears in the character of a custom-house inspector at port Antonio, in Princes Island." (Ibid, p. 171.)

Again they report that, "On a minute inspection of the papers (of the schooner *Liberal*, captured with forty-one slaves on board) it was discovered that all the slaves (ten) comprised in one of the bonds, and four out of the ten comprised in another of the bonds, were owned and shipped by Joâo José Antonio Frederico, the government secretary and director of the custom-house at Bissâo; and that the three slaves for whom no bonds or certificates had been provided were owned and shipped by Honorio Pereira Baretti, the governor of the same place. And it is remarkable, as an instance of the universal connivance and aid afforded by all the Portuguese authorities to the violation of the laws against the slave-trade, that the fourteen slaves who were thus illegally shipped, under a false name, by the director of the custom-house at Bissâo, were consigned without doubt or hesitation to a custom-house officer at Villa de Praia." (Ibid., p. 175.)

To how great an extent the Portuguese authorities at Cape de Verde were implicated in the slave-trade may be seen from a list of thirty-seven vessels, captured and condemned at Sierra Leone, "all of whom were taken with full cargoes of slaves on board," and the correspondence which accompanies it. The governor, Joaquim Pereira Marinho, admits the facilities which had been afforded to slave-trading in that island, but throws the blame on "the officer commanding the troops of the garrison, Roque Calaço da Veiga Vidal," who, he says, "when holding the appointment of chief magistrate of the place, abused the trust that was reposed in him." (Ibid., p. 191.)

No. X.

IMPOSSIBILITY OF SUPPRESSING THE SLAVE-TRADE BY A NAVAL FORCE.

Extract of a letter from Lord John Russell to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, dated 26th December, 1839.

To estimate the actual extent of the foreign slave-trade is, from the nature of the case, an attempt of extreme difficulty; nor can anything more than a general approximation to the truth be made. But after the most attentive examination which it has been in my power to make of official documents, and especially of the correspondence communicated to parliament from the department of her Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the average number of slaves introduced into foreign states or colonies in America and the West Indies, from the western coast of Africa, annually exceeds 100,000. In this estimate a very large deduction is made for the exaggerations which are more or less inseparable from all statements on a subject so well calculated to excite the feelings of every impartial and disinterested witness. But making this deduction, the number of slaves actually landed in the importing countries affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims. No record exists of the multitudes who perish in the overland journey to the African coast, or in the passage across the Atlantic; or of the still greater number who fall a sacrifice to the warfare, pillage, and cruelties by which the slave-trade is fed. Unhappily, however, no fact can be more certain, than that such an importation as I have mentioned pre-supposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year, without respite or intermission, to such an extent as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate.

The preceding statement unavoidably suggests the inquiry, why the costly efforts in which Great Britain has so long been engaged for repressing the foreign slave-trade have proved thus ineffectual? Without pausing to enumerate the many concurrent causes of failure, it may be sufficient to say that such is the difference between the price at which a slave is bought on the coast of Africa, and the price for which he is sold in Brazil or Cuba, that the importer receives back his purchase-money tenfold on the safe arrival of his vessel at the port of destination. It is more than probable that the general profits of the trade, if accurately calculated, would fall exceedingly below this estimate, as, indeed, it is certain that in many cases it is carried on at a ruinous loss. But your lordships are well aware how powerful and constant an impulse may be given to any species of illegal traffic, however hazardous, when they who engage in it are allured by the hope of very large and quick returns, if their good fortunes could enable them to escape the penalties of the law. It may, therefore, be readily understood how effective is such a stimulus, when, as in the case in question, the law itself is regarded with general disfavour in the society to which the violator of it belongs, and is reluctantly executed by the government of that society. We must add to this exciting motive the security which is derived from insurances and insurance companies, which are carried on to a great extent, and combine powerful interests. Under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed

for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties.

PROFITS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Extract of a letter from her Majesty's Commissioners at Havana to Lord Palmerston, dated 19th January, 1839.

With regard to the ship *Venus*, otherwise the *Duquesa de Braganza*, we should state that the original cost, we understand, was 30,000 dollars; and that the fitting out and expenses of every description for the voyage, including the value for the return cargo, was estimated at 60,000 more; say altogether 100,000 dollars. The number of negroes brought back, as has been before stated, was 860, and they are said to have been sold at 340 dollars per head, producing the sum of nearly 300,000 dollars, of which, therefore, two-thirds was net profit. So long as such returns can be effected, we fear that no efforts whatever will be effectual in suppressing the traffic, and certainly not while the dealers have only to meet such a system of corruption as pervades every department of the government of the island. (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1838-9, p. 109.)

From the same to the same, dated 20th March, 1839.

Of the proceedings of the slave-dealers during the present month, we have only further to inform your lordship that the celebrated slave-ship, the *Socorro*, under her present name of *Maria Segunda*, and the Portuguese flag, arrived here from Mozambique on the 11th instant. She took on board, it is said, 820 unfortunate beings, of whom only 570 were landed here, the other 250 having perished miserably on the voyage, reducing, say the speculators, their profits to *only* 25 per cent. (Slave-trade Papers, Class A, 1838-9, p. 122.)

Extract of a letter from Commander Tucker (senior officer in command) to Mr More O'Ferrall, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated September 29, 1840.

A vessel lately detained by me, which was 105 Spanish tons, and had cleared her purchases and expenses by former successful voyages, was calculated would have realised, on the completion of the voyage she was detained, for which six months were allowed, the enormous net profit of 75,000 dollars, or £16,250 sterling, which was calculated as follows, on the supposition of all the slaves being landed, to the amount of 400, the number she was to have taken from the river Nun,—viz.

	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Slaves landed, 400, at 300 dollars each . . .			120,000
Deduct the following:—			
First cost of 400 slaves, at 16 dollars each . .		6,400	
Fees to governor (Havana), at 16 dollars for each slave	6,400		
Commodore, or senior officer, at 4 dollars . .	1,600		
Intendente, at 7 dollars	2,800		
Gendarme, at half-dollar	200		
		11,000	
Carried forward		17,400	120,000

	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Brought forward		17,400	120,000
To captain, 100 dollars per month for six months	600		
Ten per cent. upon 400 slaves	12,000		
		12,600	
To 1st pilot, 70 dollars per month for six months	420		
Three-and-a-half per cent. upon 400 slaves . .	4,200		
		4,620	
To 2nd pilot, 60 dollars per month for six months	360		
One per cent. upon 400 slaves	1,200		
		1,560	
To boatswain, 60 dollars a month for six months	360		
One per cent. upon 400 slaves	1,200		
		1,560	
Carpenter, 50 dollars per month for six months	300		
Cooper, ditto ditto	300		
		600	
Cook, 40 dollars per month for six months .	240		
Steward for provisions ditto ditto . . .	240		
		480	
Seamen, 15, at 30 dollars each per month for six months		2,700	
Provisions, harbour dues, pilotage loss . . .		3,380	
			44,900
Total net profits of the voyage to merchants .		dollars	75,100
Which, at 4s. 4d. the dollar, is sterling . . .			£16,250

(Slave-trade Papers, Class B, 1841, pp. 4, 5.)

No. XI.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THAT the following be the fundamental principles of the Society:—That *so long as Slavery exists*, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND PACIFIC CHARACTER; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

No. XII.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart, Her Majesty's First Lord of the Treasury, &c., &c.

IN calling your serious and deliberate attention, Sir Robert, to the question of slavery in British India, and to the duty of its immediate and

entire abolition, your memorialists need scarcely observe, that in the prosecution of that great object, they are influenced by no party or sectarian feelings, but solely by an earnest and sincere desire of relieving a large body of their fellow-men and fellow-subjects from the oppression under which they have so long groaned, and of establishing, in every part of the vast empire of their most gracious Queen, the right of every human being to personal liberty, and to the full and complete protection of the laws.

Constituted as the society which they represent is, on the most catholic principles, and designed as it has been in the spirit of Christian philanthropy—having for its end the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, and seeking that end by means which are exclusively of a moral, religious, and pacific nature—men of various denominations in religion, and of all parties in politics, unite in its cordial support; and this fact, sir, they offer as the proof of their sincerity, and regard as the pledge of their ultimate success.

If, sir, on the general principles of Christian duty, it is obligatory on your memorialists, and on all men, to relieve the oppressed, and to lessen the sum of human misery and degradation wherever their influence may extend, and as they have opportunity to advance the sacred cause of freedom throughout the world, it is still more imperative on them to do so when these objects are more immediately within their reach, and the means of effecting them are placed providentially at their disposal. It is an indisputable fact, that slavery exists in British India to an enormous extent. Various as may have been the causes in which it originated, it resolves itself principally into two forms, prædial and domestic; the bondage of the Nautch, or dancing girls, prostitutes, and attendants on the obscene orgies of the Hindoo temples being the exception.

With respect to prædial slavery, it exists in all the presidencies, but to the greatest extent, and in its most atrocious form, in the western peninsula of India. In all cases the slaves are regarded, not as *adscripti glebæ*, but as the absolute property of their masters, and can be sold and separated as their caprice may determine, or their necessities may require. On the concurrent testimony of military men and civil functionaries of high character and standing in the East India Company's service, and of clergymen of different religious bodies long resident in the East, your memorialists venture to assert their wretchedness and degradation to be complete. The lives of this class of slaves are, for the most part, made up of toil, privation, and punishment; yet it is not so much to the incidents of slavery, fearful as they undoubtedly are, that your memorialists would respectfully claim your attention, as to the institution itself, which is a violation of the fundamental rights of mankind, of the immutable and eternal principles of justice, and of the benign spirit and precepts of the gospel. It is, sir, as a crime against God that your memorialists denounce it, and seek its speedy and complete overthrow.

Domestic slavery, though less revolting in the case of some of its victims than in that of others, cannot be contemplated, even in its mildest form, by your memorialists, but with feelings of disgust and detestation. Subjected by the law of slavery to the will of their masters, to resist would be fatal to the possession of any privilege which, as favourite slaves, they might be allowed to enjoy. In all cases the power of the master is complete over the persons of female slaves; and the consequence is, that all that is pure in morals and holy in religion is outraged, and that evils are perpetrated, at which, to use the language of a learned Indian judge, "humanity shudders, and modesty recedes with blushes." Your memorialists would add, that it is their decided conviction, from the evidence before them, that the condition of the great bulk of domestic slaves

is deplorable. The seclusion of the harems and zenanas of Musselmen of rank and Hindoos is, they fear, too frequently the cloak of brutal outrage and horrid murders. Decisive evidence is not wanting in proof of this.

It is scarcely necessary for your memorialists to touch upon the situation of the dancing girls, prostitutes, and female attendants on the obscene worship of Hindooism. With but few exceptions, the melancholy history and dreadful fate of these wretched creatures is too well known to need recital. Those who survive the bloom of youth, or are not destroyed when they can no longer minister to the gain of their employers, either become the vilest of slaves, or panders to the most debasing appetites of human nature.

The system of slavery in British India sanctions, fosters, encourages, and perpetuates all this misery, degradation, oppression, and death. It robs vast multitudes of the Queen's subjects of their personal liberty, of their rights as husbands, wives, and children, and of the fruits of their labour and intellect. It reduces beings made in the image of God, and endowed with immortality, below the level of the brutes that perish.

To supply the constantly recurring demand for slaves occasioned by the continual decrease of the slave population, and by other causes, an extensive slave-trade is carried on. Hordes of kidnappers and traffickers in human beings, such as the brinjarries, gosaynes, and megpunna thugs, are continually employed in obtaining children of both sexes to meet the demand. Not content with those they can buy or steal, it is in evidence that these ferocious people murder the parents for the sake of their children, and find no difficulty in the cities of India in disposing of the youths thus obtained. Your memorialists are aware that the law does not justify this state of things; it furnishes, however, the motive, and is powerless to put it down.

The famines which so frequently desolate British India furnish another source of supply. Under plea of the necessities of parents, the sale of children is permitted and justified; but your memorialists cannot admit, on any grounds, political or moral, the sufficiency of the plea, inasmuch as it strikes at the very root of human rights, whether personal or civil. Where famines are clearly the result of providential visitations, public munificence, combined with private benevolence, should be exerted to mitigate, where they cannot fully counteract, their desolating effects. Where these famines may, however, be traced to defective political institutions, oppressive fiscal arrangements, or misgovernment, your memorialists humbly conceive it is the duty of a wise and paternal government to interpose a better order of things, to meet the exigencies of a suffering and oppressed people. Your memorialists cannot contemplate without horror the sale of multitudes of innocent young children annually, within the limits of the British empire, to perpetual slavery; and they strongly feel that the permission of such a practice is not only calculated to relax the bonds of parental and filial love, and to induce the most wretched and deplorable habits among the people, but to reflect indelible disgrace on the authorities who give it their sanction, and the country that will allow it to be done.

Another source of supply is the African slave-trade. Through the Portuguese settlements of Goa, Diu, and Dumaon, and through some of the native states on the borders of the Persian Gulf, native Africans are surreptitiously, yet continually, introduced into the British territories, and are in great demand, particularly emasculated Abyssinians, who fetch a high price in the market. Nor is the supreme seat of Indian government itself—Calcutta, free from the illicit and detestable traffic; and your memo-

rialists believe it never will be, while the system of slavery is permitted to exist.

Your memorialists do not feel it to be necessary to dwell on the various schemes which have been propounded during the last fifty years, for ameliorating the condition of slaves and mitigating the state of slavery in British India (all of which, however, have either been neglected, or have signally failed in accomplishing their object); simply because they are convinced, not only that there is no reasonable hope of the abolition of the slave-trade but by the extinction of slavery, but that slavery itself is an evil not to be mitigated, but destroyed. To its utter extirpation throughout the whole of the British dominions they stand solemnly pledged; nor can they swerve from their purpose, nor relax from their efforts, until the great work is accomplished.

This is the case which your memorialists venture, Sir Robert, respectfully to lay before you. It is but the brief and imperfect outline of a mighty subject. In conclusion, they would earnestly implore you, as the head of her Majesty's government, to bring forward a measure for the complete abolition of slavery, in whatever form it may exist, throughout all the territories and dependencies of the British crown; and to declare that henceforth the whole of the British empire shall be, not only theoretically, but practically, as sacred to freedom as Great Britain itself. To you, sir, is committed, in great measure, the destiny for weal or woe of millions in British India, who have long been the victims of a ruthless despotism. You, sir, can break their chains, and cause them and their posterity after them to bless you as their deliverer. And by performing this great act of justice, you will not only advance the honour of your country, perfect in the East the great work of emancipation already consummated in the West Indies, and accelerate the progress of civilisation and religion, but you will obtain for yourself the grateful homage of mankind, and the blessing of Him who commands us to "seek judgment, and relieve the oppressed."

Signed by order of the Committee,

THOMAS CLARKSON, *President.*
WILLIAM ALLEN, *Chairman.*

London, September 10*th*, 1841.

The above memorial was presented by a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen:—Benjamin Hawes, M.P., Samuel Harford, M.P., Dr. John Bowring, M.P., Thomas Wakley, M.P., William Allen, Robert Forster, George Stacey, Henry Tuckett, Stafford Allen, George W. Alexander, Richard Barrett, Josiah Conder, Samuel H. Lucas, Henry Christy, Joseph Cooper, Henry Sterry, William Ball, L. C. Lescesne, John Scoble, J. H. Tredgold, George Pilkington, Robert J. Rouse, Rev. J. K. Holland, John Beaumont, Rev. James Carlile, Joseph Soul, John H. Laing, and George Allen. The deputation was most courteously received, and they were informed by the Right Hon. Baronet, that previous to the intimation of the Committee of their desire of an interview, he had directed the attention of the noble lord, the President of the Board of Control, to the subject of their memorial, as deserving the most serious attention of the government.

The Premier further recommended that a deputation should wait on the President of the Board of Control, to whose department the subject more especially belonged. Upon this suggestion the Committee accordingly acted, and Lord Ellenborough was waited on by the following gentlemen: —Messrs G. W. Alexander, J. Beaumont, S. Allen, J. Conder, and J. Scoble. Their reception on the part of his lordship was courteous, but

they would have been happy to have discovered a nearer agreement in their views.

EXTENT OF SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

It is not possible, either from the Parliamentary Papers which have yet been printed, or from any other authentic record, to ascertain the extent of slavery in British India. From the various sources, however, which are open to us, and they embrace parts of the several presidencies only, we have been enabled to prepare the following table and notes, which, so far as they go, may be assumed to be tolerably correct:

Northern, Central, and Southern Cuttack	600,000	slaves.
Moorshedabad	95,366	"
Chittagong	175,200	"
Tipperah	343,065	"
Dacca Jelalpore	275,190	"
Mymensingh	363,677	"
Sylhet	361,240	"
Rajeshahy	766,341	"
Rungpore	536,140	"
Purneah	24,560	"
Bhaugulpore	49,861	"
Behar and Patna	131,280	"
Shahabad	21,340	"
Sarun	180,509	"
Tirhoot	212,210	"
Assam	27,000	"
Malabar	147,000	"
Canara, Coorg, Wynàd, Cochin, and Travancore	254,000	"
Tinnevelly	324,000	"
Trinchinopoly	10,600	"
Arcot, North and South	20,000	"
Surat	3,000	"
Dooab, or Southern Mahratta Country	15,000	"
Ceylon	30,000	"
	4,966,579	

BENGAL.

"Of the extent," say the Law Commissioners of India, "to which slavery prevails in those districts of the province of Bengal which lie south of the Ganges," embracing Midnapore, Hoogly, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, Moorshedabad, twenty-four Pergunnahs, City of Calcutta, Nuddea, Jessore, and Backergunge, "we have little specific information." . . . . . "In the districts lying beyond the Ganges," they add, "slavery prevails to a great extent." . . . . . "In the districts composing the province of Behar, slavery prevails to a great extent, and appears to have existed from time immemorial." . . . . . "Of the extent to which slavery prevails in the districts within the provinces of Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi, we have very little information. It appears to exist principally in the cities and towns, and to be almost exclusively of the domestic kind; but from the concealment which envelopes the economy of the families of the better classes of

natives, it would be almost impossible to make any accurate estimate of the number of these domestic servants." (Slavery—East Indies—No. 262, 1841, pp. 9, 10, 11.)

BURDWAN.—The Provincial Council of this district, in a report dated 1st August, 1774, and who had within their jurisdiction Jellasore, Midnapore, Bishenpore, Burdwan, Beerbhorm, Pakhite, and Ramghur, state that "slavery is very little the custom in this country." (p. 9.)

CALCUTTA.—"In the City of Calcutta the majority of the Mahomedan, Portuguese, Armenian, Parsee, and Jew inhabitants possess slaves." (p. 9.)

DINAGEPORE.—"In Dinagepore the number of slaves is very small." (p. 10.)

RAJEMEHAL.—"In the hill country, near Rajemehal, slavery is unknown." (p. 10.)

BOGLIPORE.—"In this district slavery exists, but to what extent unknown." (Adams, p. 110.)

GORUCKPORE.—"In Goruckpore, province of Oude, slavery appears to be but little known." (p. 11.)

GHAZEEPORE.—"In Ghazeepore slavery is chiefly confined to the towns." (p. 11.)

JUANPORE.—"In Juanpore the slaves are supposed to be very few." (p. 11.)

BENARES.—"In Benares most families of respectability possess them." (p. 11.)

ALLAHABAD.—"In Allahabad the system exists, but we are not informed to what extent." (p. 11.)

BUNDELCUND.—"In Bundelcund Hindoo slavery is very limited, but Mussulman slaves are common." (p. 11.)

FUTTEHPORE.—"In Futtehpore the system is said to have very confined operation." (p. 11.)

CAWNPORE.—"In Cawnpore there are a few domestic slaves." (p. 11.)

ETAWAH.—In Etawah many families of substance still possess domestic slaves, both male and female, those of the latter being probably the most numerous." (p. 11.)

AGRA.—"In Agra slaves are employed to a very limited extent." (p. 11.)

MUTTRA.—"In Muttra the number of female slaves is stated to be about fifty or sixty, and the male slaves are said not to exceed fifteen or twenty." (p. 11.)

ALLYGURH.—"In Allygurh slavery is confined to the houses of the wealthy." (p. 11.)

BAREILLY.—In this district "almost all families of respectability, especially Mahomedans, and chiefly those residing in towns, still keep slaves." (p. 11.)

MORADABAD.—Report similar to that of Bareillo. (p. 11.)

SAHARUNPORE.—"In Saharunpore the number of slaves is said to be very trifling." (p. 11.)

DELHI.—"The natives of this country are undeniably greatly addicted to the purchase of slaves, especially of the female sex; some because slaves are kept at a less expense than other servants; others for the sake of the privacy of the apartments of their wives; others for the gratification of their own vicious propensities; others for the purpose of public prostitution. They will go to any expense, and run any risk, to procure slaves." (p. 11.)

SAUGUR, &c.—In the Saugur and Nerbudda territories, it is said, "slavery does not prevail to any extent." (p. 88.)

KUMAON.—This district includes Jounsar, Bawur, Poondur, and Sundokh, and other small tracts between the Jumna and Sutledge, Deyra Doon, Kumaon, with a large portion of Gurwhal. "No census has been taken of the slave population since the introduction of British rule, but the system must prevail to a great extent, as all persons above the lowest class possess both domestic and agrestic slaves, according to their means, the more wealthy having from twenty to twenty-five, others two to ten domestics, besides agricultural slaves." (p. 93.)

ARRACAN.—"On the acquisition of Arracan (including Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway) by the British, slavery and bondage (debtor) were not found existing generally to a great extent." (p. 104.) Hamilton says, "Slavery is tolerated in all shapes in this province." (vol. i. p. 60.)

TENASSERIM.—"Absolute slavery does not appear to have existed under the Burmese rule, but a system of debtor slavery prevailed." (p. 105.) Hamilton says, "The custom of debtor-slavery or mortgaged labour prevails universally in Tavay, Ye, and Tenasserim." (vol. ii. p. 267.)

MERGUI.—"In this province slavery appears to exist." (p. 106.)

BOMBAY.

In reference to this presidency the Commissioners lament the "absence of direct evidence" on the subject of slavery. From the information, however, that they had gathered they say, "We are led to conclude that prædial slavery is very limited in the territories under the Bombay presidency. It would appear, indeed, to be confined to the Zillah of Surat, and to the southern Mahratta country."

BROACH.—"In the town of Broach there are sixty-two slaves altogether. In the Perjunnahs of this sub-collectorate there are no slaves among the government subjects; there may be, however, a very few with the Thakorres of Ahmode, Kairwarra, and other respectable Grosias." (p. 546.)

TANNAH.—"In the Talook of Rygur there are seventy-five slaves, chiefly African; in the Rajpooree district there are eighteen; in Saukse there are twenty-eight; and in the talooka of Salsette and Oorun there are thirty-two; being a total of 153 slaves." (p. 548.)

SHOLAPOOR.—"The Mamletdars report that slavery has not existed in their district since the British government." (p. 550.)

DEKHAN.—Comprehending Khandeish, Ahmednuggur, Beder or Kalbergah, Hyderabad, including Nandere, Bejapoor, and the province of Berar. Mr. Chaplin, in his report on this portion of British India, remarks, "It will be observed that slavery in the Dekhan is *very prevalent*, and we know that it has been recognised by the Hindu law, and by the custom of the country from time immemorial." (Report, pp. 148—151.)

With respect to many other districts in the Bombay presidency, we learn that slavery exists, but in what form, or to what extent, official records do not point out. (pp. 539—552.)

Mr. Baber states that domestic slavery prevails to a great extent. He says, "All the Jagheerdars, Deshwars, Zemindars, principal Bramins, and Sahookdars, retain slaves in their domestic establishments. In fact, in every Mahratta household of consequence, they are, both male and female, especially the latter, to be found; and, indeed, are considered to be indispensable." (Parliamentary Papers, No. 128, 1834, p. 4.)

MADRAS.

MASULIPATAM.—In this district there are three descriptions of slaves: those in the service of the Ryots, called "Paulaloo," and those belonging

to the Zemindars, the males called "Khasaloo," the females "Dauseeloo." Number not given. (p. 114.)

RAJAHMUNDRY.—The slaves in this district, it is stated, "form a distinct class." Their condition anomalous. Number not known. (p. 115.)

GUNTOOR.—In this district, it is said, "there is no slavery, in the strict sense of the word; but there are male and female servants attached to the Zemindars who are designated slaves." Number not stated. (p. 115.)

VIZAGAPATAM.—In this district "a species of domestic servitude exists, improperly called 'slavery.'" The persons called slaves "are born in the family, in which they are clothed and fed, but receive no remuneration for their services." (p. 115.)

GANJAM.—In this district slavery is mentioned as existing in its "mildest form," except with respect to the slaves belonging to the Zemindars, "who exert over them the most despotic power." (p. 115.)

In the remarks of the commissioners on the reports respecting slavery in the Northern Circars, referred to above, they say that it is probable "the husbandry is carried on by a class of field labourers who are in the same condition as those who are called slaves in Masulipatam." (p. 115.)

NELLORE.—"In Nellore there is no slavery, although some few Mahomedans have domestic servants purchased by them from their parents in infancy." (p. 117.)

BELLARY.—"No agrestic slavery whatever exists there," and the domestic slaves are few. (p. 117.)

CUDDAPAH.—Same report as Bellary. (p. 117.)

MYSORE.—"In the country of Mysore agrestic slaves are almost unknown." (p. 117.) Colonel Cubbon, commissioner in Mysore, states in a late report (13th June, 1840), that "prædial slavery is found in the Mysore territory only in the districts skirting the western Ghauts, and there to no great extent." (p. 117.)

SALEM.—"It appears from the reports that slavery does not exist in Salem." (p. 118.) Yet it appears that "children are purchased during famine, in consequence of the indigence of their parents." (p. 118.)

COIMBATOOR.—Slavery "is found in a few villages only, in the talook of Caroor, which adjoins the district of Trinchinopoly, and that of Polochy, which lies towards Malabar." (p. 118.)

CHINGLEPUT.—"With respect to Chingleput, it was stated in 1819, that the chief part of the pariars of the district were slaves, but we do not find any estimate of their number." (p. 119.)

TANJORE.—"In Tanjore the slave population is very numerous. Mr Campbell says it amounts to many thousands." (p. 119.)

MADURA.—"In Madura, at present, the magistrate states, slaves of all kinds bear but a trifling proportion to the whole population." (p. 119.)

In this presidency domestic slaves are exceedingly numerous. Mr Baber describes them as "the descendants of out-caste persons," and "kidnapped persons of free-born castes;" of whom, says Mr Brown, "he would produce hundreds in every town in Malabar, there being few Mopilla (Mohammedan) or Christian houses in which there were not some of them;" and the rest are described "as persons, or their offspring, natives of Arabia, but chiefly of Abyssinia, called Wadawur and Goolams;" and it is added, "in all the great towns throughout Malabar and Canara, these descriptions of slaves are to be met with." (Parliamentary Papers, 128, 1834, p. 11.)

LAW OF SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

The following authoritative exposition of the law of slavery among the Mohammedans and Hindoos of British India, was given by the officers of

the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, in consequence of information before that court that frequent irregularities had been practised in the acquisition of slaves, and also that, in some instances, the treatment of them, especially of female slaves, was cruel or otherwise immoral.

Questions put to the Moftee by the Nizamut Adawlut.

1. What description of slaves are authorised by the Mohammedan law?
2. What legal power are the owners of slaves allowed to exercise upon the persons of their slaves, and particularly of their female slaves?
3. What offences upon the persons of slaves, and particularly of female slaves, committed by their owners or by others, are legally punished, and in what manner?
4. Are slaves entitled to emancipation upon any and what mal-treatment; and may the courts of justice adjudge their emancipation upon the proof of such mal-treatment? In particular, may such judgment be passed upon proof that a female slave has, during her minority, been prostituted by her master or mistress, or that any attempt of violence has been made upon her person by her owner?

MOHAMMEDAN SLAVERY.

Replies.

All men are by nature free and independent, and no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful. This right of possession, which the Moslems have over Hurbees (infidels fighting against the faith), is acquired by Isteela, which means the entire subduement of any subject of property by force of arms. The original right of property which one man may possess over another is to be acquired solely by Isteel, and cannot be obtained in the first instance by purchase, donation, or heritage. When, therefore, an Imaum subdues by force of arms any one of the cities inhabited by infidels, such of them as may be taken prisoners become his rightful property, and he has the power of putting them to death or making them slaves, and distributing them as such among the ghazees (victorious soldiers), particularly when fighting against infidels; or he may set them at liberty in a Mussulman country, and levy the capitation tax: should he make them slaves, they become legal subjects of property, and are transferable by sale, gift, or inheritance. But if, after captivity, they should become converts to Islam (the faith), the power of death over them is thereby barred, though they would continue slaves; for slavery being the necessary consequence of original infidelity, the conversion to Islam does not affect the prior state of bondage to which the individual has been regularly rendered liable by Isteela, provided this be clearly established. From this it is evident that the same rules are applicable to the slaves of both sexes. If slaves are afterwards sold or given away by the Imaum, or by the ghazees, who shared at the distribution, or if they should become the property of another by inheritance, they then become slaves under the three different classes of purchase, donation, and inheritance.

If a female should bear offspring by any other than by her legal lord and master, whether the father be a freeman or a slave, and whether the slave of the said master or of any other person, in any one of these cases such offspring is subject to slavery, and these are called khanazad (born in the family); but if the children be the acknowledged offspring of the right owner, they are then free, and the mother of them (being the parent of a child by her master) becomes, at his decease, free also; and this rule is ap-

plicable to all their descendants to the latest posterity. The practice among free men and women of selling their own offspring during the time of famine is exceedingly improper and unjustifiable, being in direct opposition to the principle above stated; viz., that no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel taken in the act of hostilities against the faith. In no case can a person legally free become a subject of property; and children not being the property of their parents, all sales or purchases of them, as any other articles of illegal property, are consequently invalid. It is also illegal for any freeman to sell his own person, either in time of famine, or though he be oppressed by a debt which he is unable to discharge. For in the first of these cases, a famished man may feed upon a dead body, or may rob another; and a distressed debtor is not liable to any fine or punishment.

We are not acquainted with the principal or detailed circumstances, which led to the custom prevailing in most Mussulman countries of purchasing and selling the inhabitants of Zanguibar, Ethiopia, Nubia, and other negroes; but the ostensible causes are, either that the negroes sell their own offspring, or that Mussulman or other tribes of people take them prisoners by fraud, or seize them by stealth from the sea-shores. In such cases they are not legally slaves, and the sale and purchase of them are consequently invalid. But if a Mussulman army, by order of an Imaum, should invade their country, and make them prisoners of war by force of arms, they are then legal slaves, provided that such negroes are inhabitants of a country under the government of infidels, and in which a Mussulman is not entitled to receive the full benefit and protection of his own laws. With regard to the custom prevailing in this country, of hiring children from their parents for a very considerable period, such as for seventy or eighty years, and under this pretext making them slaves, as well as their produce also, under the denomination of khanazad (domestic slaves), the following laws are applicable:—"It is lawful and proper for parents to hire out their children on service, but this contract of hire becomes null and void when the child arrives at the years of discretion, as the right of parentage then ceases. A free man, who has reached the years of discretion, may enter into a contract to serve another, but not for any great length of time, such as for seventy years, as this also is a mere pretext, and has the same object of slavery in view; whereas, the said free man has the option of dissolving any contract of hire under either of the following circumstances:—It is the custom, in contracts of this nature, for a person hired on service to receive a compensation in money, clothes, and food, as the price of hire; any day, therefore, that a servant receives such a compensation, he is in duty bound to serve for that day, but not otherwise. The condition of contract of hire requires that the return of profit be equal to the price of hire, and this cannot be ascertained but by degrees, and in course of time. The contract of hire, therefore, becomes complete, or fulfilled according to the services or benefit actually rendered in return for the price of hire received, and the person hired has consequently the option of dissolving the contract at any moment of the period originally agreed for."

It is unavoidable and necessary in contracts of a different nature, such as in rent of land, &c., that the lessee should not have this power; but reverting to contracts of hire for service for a long period, the nefarious practices of subjecting free men to a state of bondage under this pretence, it appears expedient to provide against such abuses; and with this view to restrict the period for service in all contracts of hired freemen to a month, or year, or the utmost to three years, as in cases of ijariawurgf, a form of endowment. It is customary also among the Zumeni Tewaif, to purchase

female free children from their parents, or by engagements directly with the children themselves. Exclusively of the illegality of such purchases, there is a further evil resulting from this practice, which is, the children are taught dancing and singing for others, and are also made prostitutes, which are extremely improper, and expressly forbidden by the law.

The rightful proprietor of male and female slaves has a claim to the services of such slaves to the extent of their ability. He may employ them in baking, cooking; in making, dyeing, and washing clothes; as agents in mercantile transactions; in attending cattle, in tillage, or cultivation; as carpenters, ironmongers, and goldsmiths; in transcribing; as weavers, and in manufacturing woollen cloths; as shoemakers, boatmen, twisters of silk, water-drawers; in shaving; in performing surgical operations, such as cupping, &c.; as farriers, bricklayers, and the like. He may hire them out on service in any of the above capacities; he may employ them himself, or for the use of his family, in other duties of a domestic nature, such as in fetching water for washing on evazoo (religious purification), or anointing his body with oil, rubbing his feet, or attending his person while dressing, and in guarding the door of his house, &c. He may also have connexion with his legal female slave, provided she is arrived at the years of maturity, and the master or proprietor has not previously given her in marriage to another.

If a master oppress his slave by employing him on any duty beyond his ability, as insisting upon his carrying a load which he is incapable of bearing, or climbing a tree which he cannot, the Hakim, or ruling power, may chastise him. It is also improper for a master to order his slave to do that which is forbidden by the law, such as putting an innocent person to death, setting fire to a house, tearing the clothes off another, or prostituting himself by adultery and fornication; to steal or drink spirits, or to slander and abuse the chaste and virtuous. And if a master be guilty of such like oppressions, the Hakim may inflict exemplary punishment by Fazeer and Ugoobut Hugool Illah (literally the right of God), and meaning on principles of public justice.

It is further unlawful for a master to punish his male or female slave for disrespectful conduct, and such like offences, further than by tadeeb (correction), as the power of passing sentence of tazeer and qisaes is solely vested in the Hakim. If, therefore, the master should exceed the limits of his power of chastisement above stated, he is liable to tazeer. If a master should have connexion with his female slave before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and if the female slave should in consequence be seriously injured, or should die, the ruling power may punish him by tazeer and Ugoobut Hugool Illah, as before defined.

If the master of male or female slaves should tyrannise over them by treating them unjustly, stinting them in food, or imposing upon them duties of an oppressive nature; or if a master should have connexion with his slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, or should give her in marriage to another, with permission to cohabit with her in this state, such master sins against the divine laws, and the ruling power may punish him; but the commission of such crimes by the master does not authorise the manumission of the slave, nor has the Hakim any right or authority to grant emancipation. Adverting to the principle upon which the legality of slavery is originally established—viz. that the subject of property must be an infidel, and taken in the act of hostilities against the faith; and also to the several branches of legal slavery arising from this principle, as by purchase, donation, inheritance, and khanzadee; whenever a case of possession of an unlawful male or female slave should be referred to the Hakim for investigation, it is his duty to pass an order,

according to the original right of freedom of such individual, to deprive the unjust proprietor of possession, and to grant immediate emancipation to the slave.

(Signed and sealed) SOORAJODDEEN ULLEE, and MOHAMED RASHED.

HINDOO SLAVERY.

There are fifteen different sorts of male and female slaves, as follows:—1st, Girihgat, that is, born of a female slave; 2nd, Kireet, that is, one bought for a price, either from the parents or from the former owner; 3rd, Lubdhi, that is, one received in donation; 4th, Dayada pagut, that is, one acquired by inheritance; 5th, Unakut chirt, that is, one maintained or protected in time of famine; 6th, Aheet, that is, a slave pledged by his master; 7th, Bundus, that is, a distressed debtor, voluntarily engaged to serve his creditor for a stipulated period; 8th, Joodh puraput, that is, one taken captive in war; 9th, Punjeet, that is, won in a stake or gambling wager; 10th, Oofigut, that is, one offering himself in servitude, without any compensation or return; 11th, Purbburjeea busit, that is, a Brahmin relinquishing a state of religious mendicancy which he had voluntarily assumed; an apostate mendicant, however, is the slave of the rajah or government only; 12th, Ibrit kal, that is, stipulated, or one offering himself in servitude for a stipulated time; 13th, Bhuegal das, that is, one offering himself in servitude for the sake of food; 14th, Birbar chirt, that is, one becoming a slave on condition of marriage with a slave girl; 15th, Atmu bikrita, that is, self-sold, or one who has sold himself for a price. Authorities, Mituchra-uprusk, Rutnakur, Ribad chinta, Nunie kul putro, and others.

The owner of a male or female slave may require of such slave the performance of impure work, such as plastering and sweeping the house, cleaning the door, gateway, and necessary; rubbing his master's naked body (bunudome nebanu) with oil, and clothing him; removing fragments of victuals left at his master's table, and eating them; removing urine and human ordure; rubbing his master's feet and other limbs, &c. In cases of disobedience or fault committed by the slave, the master has power to beat his slave with a thin stick, or to bind him with a rope; and if he should consider the slave deserving of severe punishment, he may pull his hair, or expose him upon an ass; but if the master should exceed this extent of his authority, and inflict punishment upon his slave of a severer nature than above stated, he is liable to pay a fine to the Hakim or ruling power, of a thousand puns of eight thousand cowries. This is declared by Menu, according to Patnaker Behbad, Chinta, Munnie, and other authorities.

A master has no right to command his male or female slave to perform any other duties besides those specified in the answer to the second question, or authority to punish his slave further than in the manner before stated; and if he should exceed this discretionary power, in either case he is liable to the same penalty—viz., one thousand puns of cowries. This is declared by Menu and Beshie.

The commission of offences of the above nature by the master does not affect the state of the slave, and the ruling power has not the right of granting his manumission. But if it should be established in evidence before the Hakim, that any person, having stolen or inveigled away a child or slave, had afterwards sold him to another, or that any person had compelled another into a state of slavery by violence, the ruling power may then order the emancipation of such child or slave; and if a master, or any other person by permission of the master, should cohabit with a slave girl

before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and this fact be proved, the ruling power may sentence such offender to pay a fine of fifty puns of cowries, but cannot emancipate the slave girl.

Wherever a slave girl has borne a child by her master, such slave, together with the child, becomes free, and the ruling power should sanction their emancipation.

(Signed) CHATTOOR BHOOJ NECARUTUN,
CHITERPUT OAPADHEA.

(Vide Parliamentary Paper, No. 125, 1828, "entitled Slavery in British India," pp. 309, 317.)

The laws which make the murder of a slave a capital offence, and which admit his testimony as a witness, are undoubtedly great improvements upon the Mohammedan law, but of little practical benefit to him in the way of protection. To the redress of his grievances, whether of outrage on his person, or any other class of injuries that can be inflicted on him, the most formidable obstacles oppose themselves;—"1, Distance, and the difficulty of immediate European interference. 2. The venality of the native local civil servants. And 3. The want of energy, and a spirit of inquiry, for the redress of grievances, on the part of persons in authority, who often leave the investigation of complaints to their Cutcherry servants. The latter often possess so great an influence over their European masters as to bias their actions and better inclinations, by the plausible turns they can give to any inquiry carried on in a strange language." (Par. Papers, 128, 1804, p. 38.)

To these remarks of Captain Bevan may be added those of Mr Baber. He says, "The commission of violence, or of any offence upon the persons of slaves, does not affect their state of bondage; and that the ruling power has not the right of granting their manumission; *and what slave*," asks the learned judge, "*under such circumstances, dare appeal to the laws?* Again," he observes, "there is the difficulty of informing slaves of the laws, from their want of intelligence, and the distance they are kept at by the native establishments, the expense and uncertainty of obtaining relief under them, and above all, as I before hinted, the dread of attempting to oppose a power, beneath which it has become habitual to bend; all which must, and does, give almost impunity to tyrannical masters." (Ibid., p. 14.)

In another place, referring to certain "horrid barbarities" which had been inflicted on four slaves, from the effects of which one of them appears to have died, Mr Baber adds, "The slaves themselves preferred no complaint; but if it is to depend on the slaves themselves to sue for the protection of the laws, their situation must be hopeless indeed, for having no means of subsistence independent of their owners and employers, their repairing to and attending upon a public Cutcherry, is a thing physically impossible; and even if those provisions of the regulations that require all complaints to be preferred in writing were dispensed with in favour of the slaves, and they were exempted from the payment of tolls at the numerous ferries they would have to pass, and though an allowance was made to them by government during their detention at the Cutcherries and courts, *unless forfeiture of the right of property over slaves was the penalty for ill-usage, their situation would only become more intolerable than it was before they complained.*" (Ibid., p. 15.)

For details respecting the condition of the slave population in India, the reader is referred to the pages of a pamphlet on "Slavery and the

Slave-trade in British India," published by the Society in 1841; to a Parliamentary Paper, No. 128, 1834, printed by order of the House of Commons; and to the Reports of the Evidence on the general question, by the Indian Law Commissioners of India, No. 238 and 262,—1841, printed also by order of the House of Commons.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners have learnt with deep regret the continued existence of slavery in various atrocious and degrading forms in British India, by which immense masses of their fellow-men and fellow-subjects are held and used as property, contrary to every principle of justice, humanity, and religion.

That in connexion with this system of slavery, an extensive foreign slave-trade is carried on, attended with the usual revolting features of that guilty traffic, by which the natives of Africa, Arabia, and other parts of the East, are surreptitiously introduced into the British territories through the Portuguese settlements of Goa, Diu, and Dumaon, and the native states bordering on the Persian Gulf.

That a home slave-trade also exists, by which large numbers of free children, the subjects of her Majesty, and their posterity after them, are annually reduced to perpetual bondage, and the system of slavery strengthened and maintained thereby.

That there have grown up under this system of slavery organised bands of kidnappers, who carry on their detestable occupation to a great extent and with great cruelty, and find a ready market for their victims in the chief cities and towns of the country.

That your petitioners, convinced from long and painful experience that all attempts to mitigate the system of slavery—to abolish the foreign slave-trade—to limit the victims of the home branch of it—to terminate the practice of kidnapping—and to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in British India, have failed, would entreat your honourable House forthwith to take this great subject into consideration, to adopt such measures as shall secure to the entire slave population of British India their immediate and unconditional emancipation, and to provide that henceforth every person who shall touch any portion of British territory, in any part of the world, shall without exception or limitation be *ipso facto* free.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

JOHN BEAUMONT, Chairman.

October 5th, 1841.

A Copy of the Letter from the Governor-General of India in Council, in the Legislative Department, dated the 10th of May, 1841, No. 8; and of the Minute of the Governor-General enclosed therein, on the subject of Slavery in the East Indies.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

HONOURABLE SIRS,—With our letter in this department, dated the

8th of February (No. 3 of 1841), we transmitted two printed copies of the Reports and Appendix furnished by the Indian Law Commissioners on the question of slavery in India.

2. As your honourable Court will naturally be anxious to obtain early information of the opinions entertained by the members of your government on the actual state of the law, and on the recommendation of the Law Commissioners regarding this important subject, we have the honour to forward herewith copy of a minute recorded by the Right Honourable the Governor-General, dated the 6th inst. Your honourable Court will, however, be pleased to consider the subject as still under discussion by the government, and the sentiments of the remaining members of the council will be communicated with the least possible delay. We have, &c.

(Signed) AUCKLAND,
J. NICOLLS,
W. W. BIRD,
W. CASEMENT,
T. H. PRINSEP,
A. AMOS.

Fort William, 10th May, 1841.

Minute by the Right Honourable the Governor-General, dated 6th May, 1841.

SLAVERY IN INDIA.

This subject, so fully treated in the present report of the Law Commissioners, is undoubtedly a most difficult and extensive one. But the evidence and information which they have collected may, I trust, enable us to form some clear conclusions, such as shall suffice to determine the immediate practical course of the government.

I will not enter into much detail in pointing out the generally mild character of what is termed slavery in this country, or in marking how low the agrestic servitude, which exists in several of its districts, is connected chiefly with distinctions of caste, and will be upheld, notwithstanding any measures of the public authorities, by the force which natural habit and opinion have imparted to those distinctions. The facts relating to the various descriptions and modifications of bondage, as prevailing in different provinces, are set forth by the commissioners with distinctness and precision. On the effect of caste in maintaining agricultural servitude, even under circumstances in many respects favourable to freedom, instructive particulars will be found in the evidence respecting the districts of Coorg and Malabar. In Coorg, many of the slaves emancipated by government on its own estates have, from various causes, been led to destroy their certificates of freedom, and to place themselves again in servitude under their former masters. In Malabar, all the influence of the English proprietor of an estate cannot obtain for any of his labourers a greater degree of respect or privilege than the strict local usages of caste allow them; they remain, whatever the liberty of action which he accords to them, as degraded as before, for they cannot raise themselves above the low class to which they belong, and must mix only on the terms to which they have been accustomed with their caste brethren the Churmur slaves of the province.

It is enough to say that there is obviously little in common between the voluntary subservience to their employers of particular individuals or races in India, and the former oppressive and compulsory slavery of our West Indian settlements.

We must deeply pity and lament whatever there may be of degradation,

poverty, and helplessness among the lower classes of our Indian subjects, and their undue subjection, under any form or designation, to those of better birth, to the powerful and the wealthy. It behoves us to watch their condition with a vigilant eye, and to do what may be in the power of the government for its amelioration. But we ought not, through a misuse of names, to form an erroneous idea of things, or seek violently to disturb relations to which, in many cases, all who share in them are attached, regarding them, as may so often be observed in respect both to those who render and to those who receive service, as a source of mutual advantage, or even of honour and distinction.

In effect, that which constitutes the essence of slavery may be said to have been already abolished nearly everywhere throughout India. I mean by that essence, an entire subjection, sanctioned and upheld by the law, of an individual and his family to the will of a master, and the absolute claim of property, with the right also, and the means of enforcing that claim, of one man over another. It will be found, however, that almost, if not at this time quite, universally, no compulsion by a master over his dependent is admitted by our criminal courts; that any force used by him towards his so-called slave is punished, just as it would be if used towards a free man; and that nearly as generally the magistrates do not interfere for the restoration of a runaway slave to his employer.

Under such an administration of the law, what but the tie of general good treatment, and a supposed self-interest, will prevent a slave from leaving his master and living in freedom?

I may cite a few statements, some from districts in which the name of slavery is yet most prevalent, as showing how important is this practice of the magistrates.

Captain Jenkins says of Assam, "I consider that the government, by withholding a regulation making it legal to have recourse to the criminal courts for the apprehension and restitution of slaves, have virtually abolished slavery; the means of escape from their owners being so easy, and the difficulty and expense of recovery through the civil court being so great, that no slaves above the age of childhood need be detained in bondage, except with their own free will."

The principal collector and magistrate of Tanjore to the like effect:—"So long as a slave chooses to remain with his master he does so, and leaves him for a better at pleasure. Nothing but a civil suit, which would cost more than ten years of his labour, can recover him; and being recovered, there is nothing to prevent his walking about his own business as soon as he has left the court which has pronounced him to be the property of another. The magistrates, it seems, decline to assist the master to recover a runaway slave, and leave him to his own resources, which the slave defies. Under these circumstances, mutual interest appears to be really the bond between them."

The magistrate of Malabar, of the practice of his court in 1836, says, that "the relation of master and slave has never been recognised as justifying acts which would otherwise be punishable, or as constituting a ground for mitigation of the punishment;" and the criminal judge adds, that "no distinction is recognised in the criminal courts between a free man and a slave," which statement is repeated by the Court of Circuit.

And of the usage in the Bombay presidency, it is observed in the report, "An examination of the returns in the appendix will show how rare, indeed almost unheard of, is a suit in the civil courts, against a slave, or a third party, for the recovery of services, property, or damage by abduction or desertion. Yet almost all the reporting functionaries agree that a slave-owner has a good cause of action in the cases supposed, and possesses

rights which cannot be questioned in the abstract, though so difficult of enforcement as not to be worth the attempt in these times."

The criminal law on the subject is, I apprehend, correctly stated in a futwa, given 10th February, 1841, by the Mohamn edan law officer of the Madras Foujdaree Adawlut, in the case of a female Dher slave, charged with having eloped from the prosecutor, her master, and not coming again to work at his house. It is to the effect, that "the prisoner above referred to is not punishable, under the Mohammedan law, for her elopement, because the legislator has not propounded any punishment to the slaves of the country, in the same manner as he denounced Tazeer and Tadeeb to a true slave. She who may have been acquired by way of booty in a Mussulman war is called a true slave, who can be sold and purchased. If such slave shall go away from the house of her master, without his permission, she is liable to punishment in proportion to her guilt."

"As regards the slaves of this country (whether they are of Dher or Paria caste, or of any other caste), the people receive them from their parents, either during famine or at other times. Such slaves are not, under the Mohammedan law, fit to be sold and purchased. If they go away from the houses of their masters without their permission, they are at liberty to live wherever they please, and they are not liable to any trial under the law in question." Upon this futwa it is declared by the judges of the Foujdarry Adawlut, in a letter addressed by them to the government, 22nd March, 1841, that this opinion of the Mohammedan law officers "applies to males as well as females, and to the prædial slaves in Malabar, Tanjore, and elsewhere." It is pointed out in a separate minute by Mr Campbell, one of the judges, that the Hindoo civil law is, in respect to slavery, remarkably contrasted to the Mohammedan or criminal law, and can derive no support from it.

The Mohammedan criminal law being that which, with specified limitations and exceptions, is administered by our courts, there is no reason why any benefit which it gives to persons in a condition of servitude, not of the strict kind that alone it recognises and sanctions, should be in any degree denied or abridged. This exemption from criminal or magisterial process, which alone is summary and effective, leads directly and certainly, as it appears to me, to the distinction of all that is legally coercive in the maintenance of the status of slavery; and we need, therefore, the less dwell on what might be the decrees of our civil courts, on questions concerning that status being brought before them.

I believe, however, that for the reasons stated in the futwa above cited, no Mohammedan master could prove a legal title to the possession of a slave at this day, the only legal slaves under the Mohammedan law being captives taken in battle, or their heirs. This doctrine has been long ago asserted by the highest authority, and seems to have been affirmed by the Calcutta Suddur court, in the case reported in pages 249 to 251 of the appendix to the report before us. And as respects the Hindoo law, which admits of the acquisition of slaves in a number of ways, the cases reported in the following pages of the appendix will show that, whenever as yet cases have been litigated before the Suddur court, grounds have existed for rejecting the claim of servitude against the parties sued as slaves.

I would only at present observe, on the point of civil jurisdiction, that my attention has been drawn to the statement of the judge of Sylhet, that should a person, decreed by the civil court of that district to be a slave, refuse to serve or to comply with the award, he is imprisoned so long as the master desires to pay the subsistence money, in the same manner as other prisoners are confined in the civil gaol, under a decree in a regular

suit. And I have caused a reference to be made from the government of Bengal to the Suddur court, in order that it may be ascertained whether such is a proper and justifiable manner of executing a decree, of which the purport is only to declare that an individual belongs to the servile condition.

It is true that the question of civil law is not to be regarded as a mere question of curiosity and legal nicety, and as of no serious practical importance. It is, no doubt, easy to escape out of the reach of a civil process, yet the possibility that such a process may issue is not without objection, and might occasionally lead to vexation and inconvenience. But I cannot view this condition of the civil law as a pressing and general evil, and I apprehend that it certainly does not admit of any easy and immediate remedy. Such a remedy may form part of a more general measure of jurisprudence. Its principle is, I am informed, involved in intricate questions of law, and time and caution seem to me obviously required for its due investigation and discussion. I would ask, too, for more time for legislation upon the manner in which the state of bondsmen, or articled labourers, is to be regulated; it unhappily borders nearly upon slavery in some parts of the country, and yet the mode in which its evils are to be limited and corrected would open to us a wide field of controversy. We may, perhaps, be satisfied for the present if these men, though subject to the pecuniary penalties of their bonds, are protected, so far as the law can protect them, from all personal infliction or violent coercion on the part of their masters.

Even on the graver branch of this great subject, namely, the operation of our criminal and police laws, I have been greatly inclined to the opinion that legislation for the more clear announcement of the protective character of those laws is not necessary, and that the mere lapse of time is, in the best possible manner, because surely and quietly, working the complete practical abolition of slavery. But many are not of this opinion; and it may, in truth, be not otherwise than just and useful, that the principle, in this respect, of the English magistrate and of the Mohammedan futwa should have strength and publicity given to them by an express enactment of the British Indian legislature.

I am prepared upon these grounds, and on the evidence and opinions we have now before us, to pass a law declaring that any act which would be an offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave, or as I would rather say, to any one in any condition of dependence on a master; and I would add to such an act, that (to the effect of the proposal of two of the law commissioners) "no right claimed as arising out of an alleged state of slavery shall be enforced by a magistrate." Such an enactment would be entirely in consonance with the dictum of the Mohammedan lawyers, which I have above quoted, as applied to the actual state of those classed as slaves in India. I may briefly say, on the contrary opinion of others of the commissioners, as respects the concession of an authority of moderate correction, that I am satisfied that, with our very imperfect police and remotely scattered magistrates, it would not be safe to commit any power of punishment to masters; and that, in fact, we can have no security against their occasional bad character or excited passions, other than that of withholding from them all power of personal coercion whatever. Compensation for such a formal withdrawal of authority seems to me out of the question, both because compensation could not be given on a ground so little capable of exact estimation, and because the authority, whenever it is exercised, rests upon no valid ground, and has actually ceased to exist in by far the greater number of our districts. I would not, independently of any reference to the Mohammedan law, allow our magis-

trates to enforce any rights arising out of slavery, because the state of slavery is one not to be presumed against any person summarily, and would require, were it to be brought for inquiry before a court, the most grave and discriminating consideration.

To the extent here proposed, we might, I think, at once pass a law without reference to England, for the honourable court have, more than two years ago, urged it on us to take that step. But so much more legislation has been proposed in the reports of the commissioners, that it may be best to refer all the papers for further directions from the home authorities.

I confess that it is my decided impression that the adoption of all the minute and detailed provisions recommended by the law commissioners would much rather impede than advance the object we all have in view. That object is the earliest possible extinction, first practically, and in the end even avowedly, of slavery, in so far as such results can be attained by acts of the government. But if, as is the intention of one of the recommendations, we connect the public officers with the registry of the sales of persons as slaves, how shall we be able at any future time to treat those transactions as otherwise than perfectly valid, or to deal with claims of consideration and compensation which may be preferred by purchasers? It is undoubtedly most desirable to put an immediate and entire stop to such practices, wherever they may yet partially prevail, as those of the sale of slaves without their own consent, of their sale under any circumstances separately from their families, or of the sale of agrestic slaves separately from the land to which they are attached.

But in prohibiting every kind of coercion by the master over the person, and all summary interference of authority for the return of a person claimed as a slave to his assuming owner, we shall in truth do away with all such practices, for no one will be found to purchase that, of the continued possession of which he can have no assurance.

I would for the present be content with legislation to the effect which I have above stated. Compulsory contracts or transfers, with a view to prostitution, would, I apprehend, be void and punishable under the existing law. We shall have a better guarantee for good treatment, and easy emancipation at the wish of the slave, in the protection from any personal restraint which the law to which I have assented will confer upon him, than in express rules of the kind proposed by the commissioners. In a word, I would legislate as little as possible now, and that only so as directly to advance the great end of practical freedom, while I would look forward with anxiety to a period when the government may be enabled to fulfil the design of the British legislature by a declaration of the entire extinction of slavery as a state in any manner recognised by our laws.

I would, however, be disposed by a separate law (guarding the national custom of adoption) wholly to prohibit the sales of children, excepting possibly (after the example of the Bombay regulation of 1827) in seasons of distress, such as follow upon inundation or famine, and under checks which might be then imposed by the executive government. Frightful abuses grow out of such sales, and if a stern necessity should seem for any time to require their sufferance, it would, I think, be very necessary to place them under the supervision of the public authorities.

I consider the recommendations of the commissioners, for the better enforcement of the object of the statute 5 Geo. IV., c. 113, as very proper and necessary.

It might perhaps be well, as a part of our measures for the amelioration of the condition of servitude in India, to obtain periodical reports of the state of slaves or bondmen, and of legal transactions affecting them, in

the districts in which such classes are most numerous. And I would particularly ask the government of Madras to consider whether, by any addition to the magisterial force or to the general strength of the police in Malabar, a proper degree of prctection, which may now possibly be in some quarters wanting, would be given to the servile labourers and the scattered agricultural bondsmen of that province.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.

6th May, 1841.

W. B. BARING.

India Board, 5th October, 1841.

For reviews of Lord Auckland's minute, see Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. II., pp. 221 to 223, and pp. 244 to 246 inclusive.

NOTE.—Since the preparation of the foregoing report, it is understood that the government have decided upon certain regulations for carrying into effect the clause of the Charter Act of 1833, in reference to slavery in British India, the substance of which is as follows: (1) That offences committed against a slave shall be punishable as though committed against a person of free condition. (2) That slaves may inherit and bequeath property without interference of their masters. (3) That no sales of free children shall henceforth be allowed, under any pretence whatsoever. And (4) That all children born of slaves after the passing of the regulations shall be free. However valuable these measures may appear, they do not strike at the root of the evil—slavery itself, nor warrant any relaxation of exertion on the part of British abolitionists till that be utterly destroyed.

No. XIII.

SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

To the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society beg respectfully, yet urgently, to call your lordship's early and serious attention to the continued existence of slavery in the island of Ceylon.

On the 14th of August, 1806, a regulation was passed, by which all slaves not duly registered within four months from that period were declared free. On the 27th of May, 1808, seventeen months afterwards, it having been found that the regulation had not been generally complied with, the time for registration was extended for a period of six months longer—viz. to the 27th November, 1808. This new advantage given to the holders of slaves was neglected also: yet the forfeiture of the slaves consequent thereon was, the Committee deeply regret to say, never exacted.

Again, on the 5th August, 1818, another regulation was passed by the local government for the registration of slaves, allowing a period of three months from the date of the regulation for that purpose. The penalty for non-registration was declared to be "the forfeiture of the slave or slaves, and their children, who shall be, and are declared absolutely free." Lord Bathurst, who was then colonial secretary, had recommended this measure in a despatch dated 20th June, 1817, in which his lordship said, "the more rigidly its provisions are enforced, the more it will meet my cordial approbation." The Committee have reason to believe that the registration was

either evaded or neglected, and that no forfeiture of the slaves consequent thereon was exacted.

The Committee think it of no importance to do more than merely to advert to the regulation for the "triennial verification of the registers," passed in the period during which the late Sir R. W. Horton, Bart, was governor, inasmuch as it never was allowed to be carried into effect, although, in the circumstances of the case under which it was passed, there can be little doubt that it would have secured liberty to a large body of slaves illegally held in bondage in Ceylon.

Your lordship will now permit the Committee to call your attention to another measure connected with the emancipation of slaves in Ceylon, which originated in a proposition of Sir Alexander Johnstone, formerly chief justice of that island. On the 10th of July, 1816, in compliance with his request, and to testify their gratitude for the benefits which had been conferred on them by the British government, upwards of 750 of the principal slave-holders voluntarily agreed, that all children born of slaves from and after the 12th August, 1816, that being the Prince Regent's (afterwards George the Fourth) birth-day, should be free; and solemn declarations to this effect were made by the Dutch inhabitants, burghers, Cingalese, Malabars, Moors, and others interested in slave property. To give full legal effect to this determination, a regulation was passed on the 5th of August, 1818; but the Committee again deeply regret to say, that up to the year 1831, a period of fifteen years, only ninety-six children—viz., fifty males and forty-six females, had been registered as free, although it was estimated that the annual number of births of female slaves alone was 2500.

Another, and it was hoped a more successful attempt, was made by the government in 1821 to secure the abolition of slavery in Ceylon. A regulation was passed on the 17th of April of that year, "for the gradual emancipation of the female slaves, by the purchase of the master's interest in such female slaves at the period of their birth." Objectionable in principle as this regulation was, inasmuch as it recognised a right of property in human beings, it was found in 1829 that only 2211 had been purchased, or less than the admitted increase of female slaves in one year.

The number of slaves who appear to have redeemed themselves by labour on the public works or otherwise, from the year 1818 to 1831, is stated to have been 504—viz., 200 males and 171 females, with their children.

From the year 1831 to 1837, so far as the Committee are aware, no reports on slavery in Ceylon were made to the home government; and the evil appears to have been lost sight of, when the attention of the local authorities was again drawn to it by your lordship's predecessor in office, Lord Glenelg. It appeared from a census of the slave population, that in the different provinces and divisions of the island there were in that year 27,397 human beings held in bondage, although probably this did not embrace the whole of the slaves in the Seven Korles division, and the Kandyan provinces.

In a despatch of Lord Glenelg's to the Governor of Ceylon, dated 24th November, 1838, his lordship gave it as his opinion, "that slavery might be speedily extinguished in Ceylon, with little risk or difficulty," and suggested certain measures as preliminary to that desirable act. Whether any measures have been taken since that period, either by the home or the local government, to "let the oppressed go free," the Committee are in ignorance.

In submitting the foregoing facts to your lordship, it appears clear to the Committee, that had the registration law of 1806, or even that of 1818,

been rigidly enforced, as they humbly conceive ought to have been the case, it is probable that few (if any) slaves would now be found existing in Ceylon; whereas they have the strongest reason for believing, not only that the number of slaves is greater now than in 1806, but that the slave population has been increased by importations. The Committee would further take the liberty of observing, that, but for what appears to them the culpable neglect of the functionaries connected with the local government in enforcing the law of 1818, which gave effect to the voluntary engagement of the holders of slaves in 1816, in respect to the freedom of all slave children born after the 12th of August in that year, the same great object might have been happily accomplished. The Committee say nothing of the government measure, passed in 1821, for the purchase of female slaves, however benevolently intended, because they cannot recognise the right of man, under any circumstances, to hold property in his fellow-man.

In conclusion, the Committee earnestly entreat your lordship to use the great influence which you possess, as one of the confidential advisers of the crown, to recommend that an order in council may issue for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in Ceylon; and that, not only on the ground of its utter repugnance to every principle of humanity and religion, but because the extended culture of coffee and sugar which has taken place within the last few years will necessarily extend the evil, unless it be for ever and entirely put down.

On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 29*th July*, 1841.

(REPLY.)

Downing Street, 9*th August*, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., forwarding a memorial from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, praying that an order in council may be issued for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery in the island of Ceylon; and I am to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the Committee, that his lordship had called upon the Governor of Ceylon to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in that colony before the receipt of your letter, and expressed his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

R. VERNON SMITH.

John Scoble, Esq.

The number of slaves, by the census of 1837, is as follows—viz.

Western Provinces		Males	373	Females	332
Southern	ditto	ditto	431	ditto	342
Eastern	ditto	ditto	12	ditto	11
Northern	ditto	ditto	12,605	ditto	11,910
Central Kandyan	ditto ditto	ditto	687	ditto	694
		Males	14,108	Females	13,289
		Females	13,289		
		Total	27,397		

It appears, however, that the above statement is not strictly accurate. In the eastern provinces there does not appear to be any returns kept in the "seven Korles division;" and in the Kandyan provinces, the number returned in 1824 was, males 1,443, females 1,456 = 2,899; and in 1829, males 1,067, females 1,046 = 2113.

We have reason to believe, on the best authority, that the number is much greater in Kandy, 6,000 being the least that can be reckoned, but 12,000 probably being nearer the mark. It is also computed that the entire number of slaves in Ceylon is about 37,000!

The abolition of slavery in this island is necessary, not only on general grounds, but because the cultivation of sugar and coffee has been introduced into Ceylon, and is likely to be greatly extended. From a letter received from the late Sir John Jeremie, dated April 12, 1837, we make the following extract:—"The report that sugar planters intend settling here is confirmed. Two from the Mauritius, aided by Indian capital, have sent funds, and are clearing lands, so THERE IS NO TIME TO BE LOST." Subsequent accounts add that additional numbers have resorted to the island for the same purpose, and that the cultivation of coffee is rapidly extending over the whole island.

No. XIV.

SLAVERY IN MALACCA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, AND WELLESLEY.

To the Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart, President of the Board of Control, &c.

SIR,—The existence of slavery and the slave-trade in the British settlements of Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and Wellesley, having come under the consideration of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, they feel it to be their duty to call the immediate attention of the government thereto, that effectual measures may be devised for the immediate and complete extinction of both.

That slavery in these settlements is not authorised by law, but is the creature of vicious and odious custom, appears clear from the documents which have been from time to time laid before parliament. That it should have been allowed to reach its present extent, and to assume its present form, under the administration of British laws by British functionaries, is matter for deep regret, if not for strong censure; but the Committee would fain hope, that the facts of the case being now apparent, its days are numbered, and that you, sir, will urge on those measures which are necessary for its overthrow.

From the recorded opinion of Mr. Garling, the resident councillor at Malacca in 1829, the Committee learn that it was his "firm belief that local slavery had no legal existence;" and in this opinion he was fully borne out by the government, to whom he had made an appeal in 1828. "The government is decidedly of opinion that slavery has not, in any shape, a legal existence in Malacca." Yet, notwithstanding these recorded opinions, it was still permitted to continue, and finally the question was referred home for the decision of the law officers of the crown. Nothing, however, was done, and the system was allowed to continue, notwithstanding there had grown up with it a slave-trade, by which it would appear the slave population in one year (from 1826 to 1827) was increased from 1097 to 1519.

In 1829 the holders of slaves, feeling the uncertain tenure by which they

held them in bondage, and anxious to secure their services to as late a period as possible, passed certain resolutions, to the effect "that slavery shall not be recognised in the town and territory of Malacca after the 1st of December, 1841;" but no legal measures seem to have been taken by the government to give effect to this determination.

The late president of Penang, in a minute written in 1830, fully admits the evils which exist in connexion with slavery in that island. He justifies it only on the ground of the "long established custom and usage of these countries," although it is highly probable that slavery in Penang was introduced only when the English took possession of it, by virtue of its treaty with the sovereign of Quedah. Alluding to the practice of introducing slaves from Bale, Pulo Nias, &c., which had grown up with it, he considers that "we are bound by every obligation, legal as well as moral, to put down a practice which, however conducted in form, is in reality slave-dealing, forbidden by law, and the continuance of which must carry with it a continuation of all the horrors induced by it in other places (as exemplified in the case of African slave-dealing), the encouragement to wars for the purpose of making captives for sale, and in these seas even piracies, which it encourages, slaves being often the principal objects in view." In reference to the wretched beings who had been illicitly introduced into Penang, he observes, "There can be no doubt that all so situated are *ipso facto* free."

The Committee deeply regret to observe that Singapore affords, according to the same authority, "the best market for slaves," and that the suppression of the traffic will be no easy matter—indeed that it is hopeless to expect it.

In province Wellesley slavery exists; and from its contiguity to the Siamese territories, there can be little doubt it will greatly increase, unless its extinction speedily take place.

The Committee, in submitting these facts to your serious consideration, beg, sir, respectfully yet earnestly to suggest the necessity of steps being immediately taken to relieve the slave population of these settlements from every species of bondage, by whatever name it may be known; that the national character may be vindicated, the atrocious traffic in human beings be suppressed, and an example worthy of imitation be set to the nations and people by whom these settlements are surrounded.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

JOHN SCOBLE.

27, *New Broad Street, July 24th*, 1841.

SIR,—On behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, I have been requested to forward to you the enclosed memorial on the subject of slavery in several British settlements of the East, and to state that, had you been in town, the Committee would have solicited the honour of an interview to have enforced its prayer.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

Sir John Cam Hobhouse, &c.

London, 29th July, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and of the memorial with which it is accompanied. I beg you will have the goodness to inform the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that I will pay due attention to the statements set forth in that document.

I remain, sir, your very obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN HOBHOUSE.

To John Scoble, Esq.

The foregoing memorial was transmitted by the home government to the Governor-general in council in India, with orders to inquire into its allegations, and to take measures accordingly. The result was that a proclamation was issued on the 5th January last, a copy of which we have great pleasure in placing on record.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDER.

Prince of Wales Island, Jan. 5.

The period having arrived for carrying into execution the humane, disinterested, and noble pledge of the slave-holders at Malacca, the Governor deems it right to republish for general information, and in order to remove from the minds of the few slaves who may yet be in existence all apprehension or doubt of their right henceforth to be considered as free, and no longer subject to be treated as slaves under any denomination, colour, or pretence whatever, an authentic copy subjoined, of the resolutions passed at the public meeting of the inhabitants of Malacca, held on the 28th November, 1829, and at their request conveyed to the Governor through Mr W. T. Lewis, who presided on the occasion.

The Governor takes this opportunity of congratulating the European and other inhabitants of Malacca on the completion of their generous purpose, and the satisfaction which they cannot but feel, in having thus, of their own free will, come forward and emancipated their fellow-men from the degraded condition of slavery. He is aware that the slaves in question were, generally speaking, born and bred up under their masters' roof; that they had for a series of years been supported with kind and considerate treatment; and that they came into the possession of their owners at a period, and under a government, when slavery was tolerated by law. The spontaneous emancipation, therefore, of their slaves by the inhabitants of Malacca, under such circumstances, cannot fail to be highly gratifying to, and warmly appreciated by, the British authorities, as well as the supreme government of British India, to which latter authority the Governor will have great satisfaction in reporting, that the last remnant of slavery which existed in the British settlements in the Straits of Malacca, has been for ever abolished by the unanimous accord of the inhabitants themselves.

(Signed) S. G. Bonham, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca.

Though the foregoing proclamation has reference only to the abolition of slavery in Malacca, we have reason to believe that government have subsequently issued orders that the system shall be extinguished also in Penang, Province Wellesley, and Singapore. We need not say how gratified we shall be to find the report to be correct, as it will equally put an end to an atrocious slave-trade carried on by Chinamen and Malay pirates, who infest these regions.

We shall be happy to find, also, that the orders which have been issued embrace the abolition of "debtor slavery;" a system which, to use the words of Mr Blundell, "not only degrades and vitiates the people, and furnishes additional stimulus to the passion for gambling," but which, in fact, is proved to be associated with the slave-trade. Probably the number of slaves who will be thus liberated will amount to from 8,000 to 10,000; to be followed, we trust, very shortly, by the extirpation of the last vestiges of the hateful system in every part of the British empire.

No. XV.

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

Quantities of Produce imported into Great Britain, from the year 1831 to 1841, both inclusive.

	Population.	Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cocoa.
	Slaves.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Galls.	lbs.	lbs.
1831	800,000	4,103,800	323,306	7,844,157	20,030,802	1,491,947
1832		3,773,456	553,663	4,713,809	24,673,920	618,215
1833		3,646,205	686,794	5,109,975	19,008,375	2,125,656
	Apprentices.					
1834	769,000	3,843,976	650,366	5,112,400	22,081,490	1,360,325
1835		3,524,209	507,495	5,453,317	14,855,470	439,447
1836		3,601,791	526,535	4,868,168	18,903,426	1,612,304
1837		3,306,775	575,657	4,418,349	15,577,888	1,847,145
	Freemen.					
1838	750,000	3,520,676	638,007	4,641,210	17,588,655	2,149,637
1839		2,824,372	474,307	4,021,820	11,485,675	959,641
1840		2,214,764	424,141	3,780,979	12,797,739	2,374,301
1841		2,151,217	430,221	2,770,161	9,927,689	2,920,298

(Par. Pap. No. 293, 1842, pp. 1, 2.)

NOTE.—If the results of emancipation were to be weighed solely by the amount of colonial produce imported into this country during the last three years, those who take a superficial view of the question might find some cause for the fears which they express; but those who have had an opportunity of watching the progress of events in the West Indies are satisfied that the decrease can be satisfactorily accounted for, that it has reached its *minimum* point, and that each succeeding year will show a rapid increase on the exports from the colonies to this country.

The West India body attribute the diminution to a want of sufficient labour to keep up the cultivation of estates, and to the high price they have been compelled to pay for such labour. Others, however, who from their official engagements, as stipendiary justices, have had the best opportunities of judging of the matter, refer it to the following causes:—(1) To the necessary changes in the distribution of labour consequent on the transition from apprenticeship to complete freedom. (2) To the unwise attempts of the planters to coerce labour, at a low price, by making the tenure of occupancy of huts and provision grounds to depend on labour and not on rent; or by the mixing up of the questions of wages and rents, and by enforcing their views by summary ejectments and other harsh proceedings. (3) To the want of sufficient capital to secure the full amount of labour required by the estates, or to pay for it with exactness and regularity. And (4) To disputes about the value of labour, and the rates to be paid for the same. The operation of these and other causes of minor importance, led to the withdrawal from field labour of a considerable body of persons during the two first years of freedom, and of course to diminished cultivation, especially in the planting of canes. To this must be added the unprecedented droughts which during the years 1839 and 1840 afflicted the colonies, destroying in Barbadoes whole fields of canes, diminishing in British Guiana the crops one-third, and leaving in Jamaica many estates with scarcely a single hogshead of sugar to cover the whole expenses of the year. In confirmation of these statements the reader is referred to a volume, published by authority, entitled "Extracts from

Parliamentary Papers relative to the West Indies," 1840; and to the "Papers presented to both Houses of Parliament relative to the West Indies," in 1841-2.

As to the prospect for the present year, it is admitted by all parties to be cheering; a better understanding has sprung up between the employers and the employed; labour can be had at moderate wages, and is daily becoming more abundant; and what is principally wanted to secure it, is money. The increase in the exports of sugar from the West Indies to Great Britain during the present year is variously estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000 tons more than the last.

In reference to the emancipated slaves, the official reports are perfectly satisfactory. Their rapid improvement in morals, civilisation, and religion is universally attested.

SUGAR.

Quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the *British West Indies*, the *Mauritius*, the *British* possessions in *India*, and foreign countries, upon which duty was paid, from 1831 to 1841, both inclusive, the amount of revenue derived therefrom, the quantities re-exported and retained for home consumption, and the gazette average price of that article in the British market during the same period.

Years.	B. W. Indies.	Mauritius.	B. India.	F. Countries.	Revenue.	Re-exported.	HomeConsumption.	Av. Price.
	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.	cwts.	£	cwts.	cwts.	pr. cwt.
1831	4,115,000	456,546	113,531	93,107	4,650,590	989,247	3,781,011	23s. 8d.
1832	3,826,775	526,332	79,593	613	4,394,338	774,941	3,655,534	27 8
1833	3,473,378	507,791	98,284	71	4,414,302	417,070	3,651,804	29 8
1834	3,784,934	544,509	121,470	50	4,559,392	657,849	3,741,579	29 5
1835	3,774,822	591,952	98,718	32	4,667,900	593,156	3,856,562	33 5
1836	3,296,641	518,228	110,237	34	4,184,165	425,363	3,488,399	40 10
1837	3,562,779	522,361	270,071	43	4,760,565	390,534	3,954,810	34 7
1838	3,369,084	585,235	418,715	65	4,656,892	453,735	3,909,665	33 8
1839	2,789,828	589,464	477,894	51	4,586,936	20,002	3,825,599	39 2
1840	2,482,530	693,246	518,636	2,441	4,449,070	896	3,594,832	49 1
1841	2,274,452	724,826	1,066,436	257	5,114,928	661	4,058,431	40 1

(Vide Par. Pap. No. 890, 1840, and No. 64, 1842.)

NOTES.—1. The duty levied on sugars from the British West Indies and Mauritius from 1831 to 1841, both inclusive, was 24s. per cwt.; on sugars from British India, from 1831 to the 13th August, 1836, inclusive, 32s. per cwt.; and from that period to the end of 1841, 24s. per cwt.; the duty levied on foreign sugars for the same period was 63s. per cwt. An addition of 5 per cent. on the above rates, commencing from the 16th May, 1840, was laid by parliament on all sugars imported into the United Kingdom for home consumption.

2. The smallest consumption of sugar during any one of the ten years recorded in the table was in 1836—viz. 3,488,399 cwts., the gazette price being 40s. 10d. per cwt., exclusive of duty; the largest in 1841—viz. 4,058,431 cwts., the gazette price being 40s. 1d. the cwt.

3. The price of sugar was lowest in 1831, the average price being 23s. 8d.; and was highest in 1840, when it averaged 49s. 1d. per cwt. The lowest price during any week in 1831, was 21s. 10d. per cwt.; the highest during any week in 1840, was 58s. 5½d., exclusive of duty; showing a fluctuation in favour of the West India body of no less than 36s. 7d. per cwt. between these periods.

4. The average quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the British West Indies during the last three years of slavery was

3,841,157 cwts., the average price being 27s. per cwt., = £5,185,561; during the three years of the apprenticeship, 3,477,592 cwts., the average price being 36s. 3d. per cwt. = £6,303,135; and during the first three years of freedom, 2,396,789 cwts., the average price being 49s. 2d. per cwt. = £5,123,125; thus showing that what the West India body may have lost in quantity they have gained in price. To this must be added, that since the year 1834 they have enjoyed all the advantages to be derived from a capital of £20,000,000, placed at their absolute disposal by the legislature of this country; equal, at the colonial rate of interest of 6 per cent. per annum, to £1,200,000 a year! Certainly, whatever parties may have suffered by the abolition of slavery, the West Indians, as a body, are not to be reckoned in that number.

5. The average amount of revenue derived per annum from sugar during the three last years of slavery was £4,486,410; during the three years of the apprenticeship £4,537,543; and during the three years of freedom £4,716,978; showing a gradual increase in the amount of duties received arising from the equalisation of the duties on East and West India sugars, and the increased consumption which has resulted therefrom. The lowest amount of revenue received was in 1836, when the equalisation took place—viz. £4,184,165; the highest in 1841, when it amounted to £5,114,928.

Exports of British manufactured goods to the British colonies, exclusive of Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, from 1831 to 1840, both inclusive.

	£.		£.
1831	2,581,949	1836	3,786,453
1832	2,439,808	1837	3,456,745
1833	2,597,587	1838	3,393,441
1834	2,680,024	1839	3,986,598
1835	3,187,540	1840	3,492,734

NOTE.—The foregoing table will show the large increase which has taken place in the export of British manufactured goods to the British colonies, since the period of freedom commenced, proving at once the increase in the internal commerce of the colonies, and the improved condition of the labouring population, as the result of emancipation. It should be observed, also, that the imports of food from the United States have also increased proportionably with the imports from Great Britain.

No. XVI.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

MAURITIUS.

To the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have learned with deep regret, that it is the intention of her Majesty's government to relax the restrictions at present in force in British India, against the export of hill Coolies and other Indian labourers, so far as Mauritius is concerned, and to allow free importation of that class of persons into that island.

The Committee are aware that your lordship intends, by certain regulations, to take effect in India, and on the voyage thence to Mauritius, to guard against some of the frightful evils which accompanied the introduction of Indian labourers into that colony previous to the passing of the prohibitory act in 1839; but they would respectfully observe to your lordship, that nothing which has transpired since that period has reconciled them to the measure which your lordship proposes should be adopted, and which, if carried into effect, they believe will be accompanied by evils far greater than appears to be contemplated, or against which it will be possible to guard.

Were the object of the measure recommended by your lordship, to secure to the labouring population of India a right which had been unwisely or unjustly taken from them, the Committee trust they would be found among its most earnest and zealous supporters; but when they perceive that its necessary consequence is, to withdraw that protection which the supreme government of India judged to be absolutely necessary, to guard them from impositions the most fraudulent, and treatment the most cruel; they feel it to be their duty to take the earliest opportunity of expressing to your lordship their decided objection to the proposed revocation of the existing law.

The Committee would venture to remind your lordship, that what the Indian government conceived to be necessary, the House of Commons, in the session of 1840, affirmed to be so, by a decided vote taken on the proposition of your lordship's predecessor in office, which was similar to that now before the country.

Subsequently to that period, a large amount of official evidence on the subject of Coolie emigration has been laid before parliament, which not only convinces the Committee of the wisdom and humanity of the course pursued both in India and in England on the subject, but which confirms them in the opinion, that, under present circumstances, there ought to be no relaxation in the restrictions which exist, except, perhaps, in the case of skilled labourers or artisans, who, on their own proper account, may desire to emigrate to other countries to better their condition.

Your lordship's measure appears to be grounded on the fact, that in the Mauritius "a constant and large demand for labour exists;" on the alleged charge that the emancipated slaves "are addicted to idle, vagrant, and unprofitable habits;" on the assumption that "many of the Coolies who have already fulfilled their contracts in Mauritius have returned to India, and having visited their families, and deposited with them the amount of their accumulations, would gladly enter into fresh engagements, were they not debarred by the existing law;" and on the opinion, which your lordship entertains, of being able to guard against abuses by certain regulations, intended to be enforced in connexion with the emigration of labourers from British India.

On the first point, the question may arise whether there be not a sufficient supply of labour in Mauritius to keep up, and gradually to extend, the sugar cultivation of the colony. The Committee are not convinced that there is not; but even if they were, they must protest against that being considered a sufficient ground for the introduction of Indian labourers into it. Labour is wanted in other British colonies for the same purpose, but your lordship very properly, as they think, refuses them that which it is intended shall be granted to Mauritius.

In reference to the alleged charge of indolence brought against the emancipated classes, they have yet to be convinced of its truth; but if it were true, that there is an unwillingness on their part to work for the planters, the Committee think that it may be found to originate in other

causes than those laid to their account—namely, the past conduct of their masters, which, by the returns made to parliament, is proved to have been more fraudulent, cruel, and atrocious, than that of any other slave colony of the crown; and the supercession of their labour by that of the Coolies brought into the colony, under contracts for lengthened periods of time, at extremely low wages, under the pretence of the exorbitant demands of the negroes, and the attempt thus to coerce them. If, after having been driven from the land, they formerly cultivated as slaves, they engage in desultory labour only, the Committee are persuaded that the cause will be found lying at the planters' door rather than at theirs, and forms no just ground, in their judgment, why Indian labourers should be introduced into that colony.

But it is assumed that the Indian labourers who have returned home with their earnings, are desirous of renewing their engagements in Mauritius, which they are debarred from doing under existing laws. So far as the papers already laid before parliament refer to this point, it does not appear that many are willing to return to the scene of their former labours, but the contrary. Three only positively state their intention to return, and these are Sirdars, who were evidently sent to Calcutta rather as decoys than as truthful witnesses of what they knew to be the actual condition of the labourers in that colony. Adverting to this point, Mr Bird, of the Supreme Council of India, observes:—"I do not place much reliance on the testimony of the Coolies who have lately returned from Mauritius;" and adds, "I am not satisfied with the summary manner in which the examinations have been taken by the chief magistrate, who appears throughout in the character of a partisan arguing in favour of the Coolie trade." As to the general reluctance of the natives of India to leave their homes, the most conclusive testimony is borne to that fact by some of the highest officers of the Indian government; and that the prohibitory law is not felt to trench on their rights or wishes, is clear from the statement of the late Governor-general himself, who distinctly says, "I do not believe that this law is yet felt as pressing hardly on the rights of the natives of India;" and he farther observes, "It was upon no understood practice, and only through the busy intervention of an active agency, that the first emigrants were led to seek their fortunes in Mauritius." Thus, then, it appears to the Committee, that with but few exceptions, not only those who have returned to India from the Mauritius express no desire or intention to return thither, but the population generally have either no wish to leave India, or are opposed to it.

It is, however, believed by your lordship that emigration from India to Mauritius may be so regulated as to prevent fraud and punish injustice, and to make it advantageous to the Indian labourer to resort thither. The experience of the past would seem to prevent the indulgence of this hope. Lord Auckland, in his minute of the 15th April, 1841, gives it as his opinion that "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience;" and that no dependence can be placed on the police is evident from what his lordship adds; namely, that "it is but too true that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform have ended in disappointment." And, as a practical measure, Lord Auckland would so far relax the prohibition, as to permit the "skilful artisan, or the man of calculating enterprise," to emigrate. Beyond this it does not appear that his lordship would feel disposed to go.

They are persuaded that even if your lordship were able to secure the object contemplated by the regulations in British India, which the committee believe to be impracticable, it would be impossible to secure justice to the labourers in the Mauritius. The want of laws to provide proper shelter for them on the estates; the want of hospitals under proper regulations and control in the various districts in which they might be located; the want of a due proportion of the sexes, which has led to the most frightful demoralisation among those already there; the want of a due sense of moral obligation, so often and so shamefully manifested by the great body of the planters of that colony; but, above all, the want of an intelligent, active, and truly independent magistracy, to administer, with impartiality and firmness, wholesome and just laws; lead the committee but to one conclusion—namely, that it is their duty respectfully to state to your lordship that they are entirely opposed to the revocation of the prohibitory law, and earnestly to entreat her Majesty's government to withdraw the proposed measure.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

27, *New Broad street, London,*
Feb. 28th, 1842.

PETITION

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners respectfully call the attention of your honourable House to the proposed relaxation of the law prohibiting the exportation of labourers from British India, so far as the same affects Mauritius, a measure similar to that which your honourableHouse decidedly negatived in the session of 1840.

Your petitioners would remind your honourable House of the dreadful mortality which, up to the period of its prohibition, had marked the emigration of Coolies to that island, a mortality which it is stated was equal, in Port Louis, to from eight to nine per cent., and in the country, to from ten to eleven per cent. per annum; and to the disgraceful frauds which had been practised on a multitude of ignorant and helpless people.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to the frightful demoralisation which has resulted from the introduction of a vast number of males into that colony, and from the opposition which appears to have been given to their religious instruction.

Your petitioners would further bring under the consideration of your honourable House the recorded opinion of the late Governor-general of India, that no regulations, however stringent, and no watchfulness on the part of the authorities, however vigilant, can prevent oppressions and deceits from being practised on the labourers who may be induced to emigrate to Mauritius.

Your petitioners would also call your attention to the general state of the laws and the administration of justice in the Mauritius, as affording no guarantee of fair and honourable treatment to immigrants on that island.

For these reasons, among others, your petitioners entreat your honourable House not to sanction the revocation of said prohibitory law, which they believe to be both wise and humane, and absolutely necessary to protect the Indian labourers from the recurrence of those evils which the

friends of humanity, the government, and the legislature, have had such just cause to deplore and condemn.

And your petitioners, &c.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD.

27, *New Broad street, London,*
February 28th, 1842.

NOTE.—For further information on the subject to which the foregoing memorial and petition refer, see a pamphlet, published by the Society, entitled, "Emigration from India; or, the Export of Coolies and other Labourers to Mauritius."

WEST INDIA COLONIES.

To the friends of Africa and of the emancipated classes in the West Indies.

THE appointment of two committees by the House of Commons, the one relating to our settlements on the western coast of Africa, and the other to the West Indies, coupled with the expectation that the result of the proposed inquiries will justify the government in making the former depôts for African labourers, with a view to supply the latter with a large number of immigrants, has not only engaged the close and anxious attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, but has excited their most serious alarm.

Under the plea of an absolute want of labour in the emancipated colonies, to carry on the cultivation of sugar, except at a ruinous cost to the planters, and under the specious pretext that the natives of Africa are to be benefited by the measure, the Right Honourable Lord Stanley has prevailed on the House to grant him these committees, without opposition or discussion; and to place the names of honourable members thereon, who, with few exceptions, the committee regret to say, have either prejudged the important question they are now called to investigate, or have a direct interest in affirming the views of the West India party, by whose statements the noble lord appears to have been greatly influenced.

In these circumstances, the Committee feel it to be their bounden duty to put their friends throughout the country on their guard against the insidious scheme set forth in the speech of the colonial minister; first, because they are convinced that no good and sufficient reason can be shown to warrant its adoption; and, secondly, because they are further convinced that it cannot be carried into effect without covertly, if not openly, reviving and extending the iniquities and horrors of the slave-trade.

The plea of the West India party is the scarcity of labour, and the consequent exorbitant rate of wages they are compelled to pay, in order to their carrying on successfully the cultivation of their estates. The Committee demur to the accuracy of these statements. They are of opinion that it can be demonstrated by a reference to official and other evidence, that there is no actual want of labour for keeping up the cultivation of the staple productions of the British colonies; and that it can be had on terms sufficiently moderate to insure a fair return for capital invested. If in any quarter the want of labour has been experienced, it has arisen principally from bad legislation, the object of which has been to coerce labour under a state of freedom; from the unreasonable and injudicious conduct of the planters in mixing up the questions of wages and rents, and from their resorting to summary ejectments to accomplish their purposes; and from want of capital to pay with regularity the wages due to their labourers, or to command the amount of labour required. These causes have been in

active operation, and have led many negroes to become independent holders of land, to escape the persecutions and annoyances to which they were subjected by their former masters.

As to the exorbitant rate of wages said to be demanded by the labourers, it appears that they have been usually fixed, except for task-work, by the planters themselves, and have for the most part been made dependent on so great a variety of circumstances, as to have proved injurious both to the employers and the labourers.

To remedy the evils resulting from the operation of bad laws and their own oppressive proceedings, the West Indian party have had recourse to various schemes of immigration: these have been conducted at a heavy expense, and with but little benefit to the colonies, and at a great sacrifice of human life and happiness. These schemes have failed, or are to be abandoned, for the one now proposed by Lord Stanley. From Africa a supply of labourers is sought to be obtained, for the avowed purpose of reducing the wages of labour paid to the lately emancipated slaves. But can that be done without absolute injustice to them? And, if done, without giving a fresh stimulus to the slave-trade? With the information before them, the Committee answer decidedly in the negative. To introduce masses of native Africans, composed as they will be principally of the male sex, imbued with all the gross superstitions and revolting heathenism of their country, must be injurious to the moral progress and religious elevation of the emancipated classes; and bringing these masses into competition with them in the labour market, must take from them the fair reward for their toil. To a free circulation of labour throughout the West Indies the Committee have no objection; on the contrary, they have on all occasions strenuously advocated it. To the spontaneous emigration of free persons from any part of the world to the British colonies they have no objection; but to a forced system of emigration, involving the taxation, among others, of the emancipated peasantry of the West Indies, to supply funds that the planters may bring large numbers of labourers into competition with them, is what the Committee cannot regard as either just or expedient. Above all, the Committee are opposed to emigration from Africa. To the Committee it appears utterly improbable that emigration can be free and spontaneous on the part of the Africans themselves. *They are, with few exceptions, slaves, and must be obtained from the chiefs who surround our settlements, either by purchase, or by negotiations involving inducements tantamount to purchase; whatever number may be removed, it will be replaced by predatory warfare in the interior, and all the iniquities connected with the traffic in human beings be continued.* To any system involving in the remotest degree the guilt of the slave-trade, the Committee are firmly persuaded their countrymen will be utterly opposed; not only on general grounds, but lest it should give a pretext to other powers having settlements on the coast of Africa to resort thither, for the purpose of supplying their slave colonies in other parts of the world with Africans, nominally free, but really slaves.

In confirmation of their views, the Committee would call the particular attention of their friends to an extract from an important despatch of the Marquis of Normanby, when colonial secretary, addressed to the Governor of British Guiana, dated 15th August, 1839; in which his lordship, speaking on behalf of Lord Melbourne's government, gave a definitive answer to the application for a supply of immigrants from Hindostan and Africa:—"With regard to the introduction of labourers from India," says his lordship, "more than enough has already passed to render her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project; and the laws now in force in the different presidencies would effectually prevent the execution

of this part of the scheme." And with respect to Africa, he observes:—"We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West India colonies from Africa. NO PRECAUTION WHICH HAS BEEN OR WHICH COULD BE DEVISED WOULD PREVENT SUCH A MEASURE FROM GIVING A STIMULUS TO THE INTERNAL SLAVE-TRADE ON THAT CONTINENT, OR FROM BRINGING DISCREDIT ON THE SINCERITY OF THE EFFORTS MADE BY THIS NATION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THAT SYSTEM OF GUILT AND MISERY."

In contemplating the bare possibility of the project adverted to being realised—the gross injustice it would inflict, on the one hand, on the long-oppressed but now emancipated negroes of the British colonies, and the misery it would entail, on the other, on the deeply injured natives of Africa; the Committee feel it to be their solemn duty, not only to guard their friends from deception on this vital point, but earnestly to entreat them to be prepared, if necessary, to resist a measure so fraught with calamity and crime.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

J. H. TREDGOLD, Secretary.

Copy of a despatch from the Marquis of Normanby to Governor Light.

Downing street, 15th August, 1839.

SIR,—I have received your despatch of the 26th June, No. 105, enclosing an ordinance passed by yourself and the Court of Policy, entitled, "An Ordinance to regulate the Immigration of Labourers into British Guiana."

The general principle on which this law proceeds is, that the augmentation of the number of labourers in agriculture and manufactures is an object in which society at large has so deep an interest, that with a view to the promotion of it, a government agency and a system of bounties on emigration ought to be established at the charge of the public revenue. I am not indisposed to admit that the interest of the collective society would ultimately, and on the whole, be promoted by a considerable addition to this particular class, and that scarcely any measure of public policy could be pursued in any country, if the legislature were to sanction such measures only as are beneficial to all and detrimental to none. I therefore do not object to the enactment of laws in favour of immigration, merely on the ground that, the effect of them being to reduce the rate of wages, they operate advantageously to the class of capitalists only, and disadvantageously to that far more numerous body who depend for their subsistence on the daily labour of their hands. There are, I am aware, considerations of weight which might be urged to show that a high price of manual labour may be really injurious to those by whom it is performed, when that price results, not from temporary, but from permanent causes, and induces habitual indolence, with its train of attendant evils. *But I am not so well convinced that it is just or wise to appropriate the public revenue in aid of this service. If the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural and manufacturing operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds to which every member of society is a contributor should not, for this purpose, be diverted from their more legitimate destination.* At least, if the proceeds of the public taxes are properly applicable to bounties of this nature, the grant should be confined to the surplus which remains after provision has been made for all those branches of the public service which are indispensable to the general security, peace, and order. But in British Guiana there is no such surplus. At their last annual meeting, the Combined Court reduced the estimate for many objects of the highest interest connected with the administration of justice and of the civil government, on the ground of the inadequacy of the revenue to sustain those burthens. As long as the produce of the

public taxes shall be regarded by that Court or by the Court of Policy as insufficient to provide for these first exigencies of society, I must entertain the most serious doubt as to the wisdom of creating an annual charge of £20,000, or indeed of any other amount, to enable capitalists to procure new hands in furtherance of plans of extended cultivation.

I perceive from these papers that a practice prevails in the Combined Court, and the Court of Policy, against which it is my duty distinctly to protest. I allude to the origination of money bills by resolutions of the Combined Court, and on the motion of a member of the Court of Policy, not only without the previous assent of the governor, but even in a case where the governor has regarded the expenditure as injudicious, and has voted as a member of the Court of Policy against it. So far as my information extends, this proceeding on the part of the Combined Court is an entire novelty. I am disposed to conclude that the governor has, in recent times, acquiesced in the assumption by the Court of Policy of the right of originating pecuniary grants not recommended by himself. But this is a claim so incompatible with all sound economy in the expenditure of the public resources, and so destructive of all effective responsibility for that expenditure, that you will steadily oppose it hereafter, unless the more exact information within your reach should satisfy you that I am in error in supposing that the present proceeding is a departure, in this respect, from the principles of the colonial constitution.

If, however, I could unreservedly admit the propriety of large bounties on immigration payable out of the proceeds of the taxes, and if I could also allow that a bill for granting such bounties could properly be introduced, not only without your previous consent, but in direct opposition to your judgment, I should still entertain very serious doubts as to some of the details of that bill which has actually passed into a law.

It is proposed that the governor should appoint emigration agents at Calcutta, at the Bahamas, in Africa, and at any other place where a mixed commission may be established under the treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade. Now, to each of the points thus selected there are grave, if not conclusive, objections. *With regard to the introduction of labourers from India, more than enough has already passed to render her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project; and the laws now in force in the different presidencies would effectually prevent the execution of this part of the scheme. We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West Indies from Africa. No precautions which have been, or which could be devised, would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery.* With regard to the Bahama Islands, I must observe that there is no part of her Majesty's transatlantic possessions of which the depopulation is more to be deprecated; because, in the event of a maritime war, the occupation of those islands by the Queen's subjects would be almost indispensable to the safety of the homeward-bound trade from the whole of the British West Indies. Having been settled with this view at a great expense to the nation at large, her Majesty's government cannot regard with favour any project of which the removal of the settlers is the avowed object. Further, I cannot but view with serious apprehension the plan of settling an emigration agent from Guiana at the Havanna, in the Brazils, and in Sierra Leone, where the three courts of mixed commission are held. *It is of the utmost importance to avoid even the appearance and imputation of this country being actuated by any selfish motives in our transactions with the Brazilian, Portuguese, and Spanish governments on the subject of those*

Courts; nor could her Majesty be advised to place the Africans liberated under them at the disposal of any such agent.

I further observe, that although the agents are to be appointed by the governor, they are to hold their places at the pleasure of a board of commissioners, which board is to be appointed, not by the governor, but by the governor and Court of Policy. Thus the agents would be really responsible to a board over which the executive government could exercise no control. I am not prepared to admit the propriety of thus denying to her Majesty's representative the authority, and the consequent responsibility, which should attach to him.

The provision made for the return of the emigrants to their native country has no tendency whatever to promote that object, but perhaps the reverse; for the immigrant's right to be sent back is made to depend upon his paying to the commissioners a sum equal to the cost at which he can be sent back by them. It follows, therefore, that the emigrant must pay for his own return voyage, and that he must pay for it, not any fixed sum, nor even the average expense of such a voyage, but such a sum as will enable the commissioners to provide for his return; and it is needless to prove that a public board of that nature will always labour under great disadvantages, in comparison with private traders, in making such contracts. *The expense of a voyage from Guiana to India, or to Africa, must, from the extreme infrequency of such voyages, be so great as to exceed any resources which daily labourers in Guiana will ever have at their command, except in a very few cases.*

The law further provides that only one of every three emigrants must be a female. *It appears to me indispensable, if any bounties are to be paid, that there should be an equal number of each sex.*

It is stated that the rules respecting the ship's provisions, medical attendance, and so on, are taken from the British Passengers' act. But there is one most important departure from that model. The execution of our own law is superintended by agents and revenue officers, who have no interest in common with the parties for whose profit the ships are chartered, and no dependence upon them. But under this ordinance there is no effective check whatever. The agent in the colony, and the agents in India, Africa, and the Bahamas, will all be dependent upon, and responsible to, the commissioners by whom the bounties are to be awarded, and the service conducted for the benefit of the colonists.

Finally, I do not perceive that any provision is made to secure to the emigrants, on their arrival, a proper reception, or to determine in what manner they shall be settled amongst the different candidates for their services.

For all these reasons I have thought it my duty humbly to advise the Queen to disallow this ordinance, and I have received her Majesty's commands to acquaint you that it is disallowed accordingly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

Governor Light, &c., &c.

No. XVI.

FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE LABOUR.

ON Monday, the 20th September, 1841, a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen—Messrs W. Allen, S. Allen, G. W. Alexander, J. Beaumont, R. Forster, S. Lucas, J. Scoble,

G. Stacey, H. Sterry, and H. Tuckett, waited on the Earl of Ripon, as president of the Board of Trade. They were very courteously received, and presented to his lordship a memorial, of which the following is a copy:—

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon, President of the Board of Trade, &c., &c., &c.

My Lord,—In the prosecution of the great object which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have in view—namely, the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by means which are purely of a moral, religious, and pacific nature, they felt it to be their solemn duty to oppose the measure of the late government for the reduction in the duties on foreign sugars, so far as it affected those which were clearly raised by the labour of slaves, on the ground that they believed the inevitable tendency of such reduction would be immediately to extend the slave-trade, and to aggravate and prolong its unutterable horrors, while at the same time it would render the condition of slaves already in bondage more grievous and intolerable than ever. On the same principle, and governed by the same motives, the Committee feel it to be their duty respectfully to approach the present government, through your lordship, as the president of the Board of Trade, with their earnest request that the produce of the tropics raised by free labour, come from what country it may, may be placed on such a footing in relation to the productions of the British colonies, as shall enable it to come immediately into fair and full competition with the same.

In further developing their views, the Committee beg permission to suggest to your lordship, whether it would not be greatly to the advantage of the revenue to reduce the present duty on sugars, and other produce, raised in the British possessions in the East and West Indies. Such a measure, combined with an equalisation of the duties on foreign tropical productions of a similar kind, raised by freemen, the Committee believe would have the further advantage of greatly increasing the comforts of the poor of the land, of leading to a rapid development of the resources of the British colonies and plantations abroad, and of opening new and extensive markets for British manufactures; whilst it would strike a heavy blow at the atrocious system of slavery, and consequently at the slave-trade, wherever it obtains, and would operate, both as an economical and a moral argument, in favour of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

The Committee would still further venture to suggest to your lordship the propriety of removing the remaining restrictions on West India commerce, so as to enable the planters and merchants of our own free colonies successfully to compete with the foreign growers of sugar by slave labour in the continental markets; and so as to admit of the complete equalisation of the duties on tropical productions, whether of our own or of other countries, grown exclusively by free labour.

Coupled with a wise and judicious scheme of immigration into the emancipated colonies, which, on the one hand, shall throw open the labour market to fair and honourable competition, and on the other, shall guard against the abuses which have hitherto unhappily marked the course of colonial experiments in this way, and shall be exclusively under the direction of the government, the measures which the Committee have ventured to suggest to your lordship will, they believe, in their combination, be one in the great order of means for securing the liberty of millions now held in bondage, for terminating the slave-trade, for greatly increasing the prosperity of this country, and for advancing the cause of universal justice

and benevolence, of civilisation and religion, of freedom and peace, throughout the world.

Signed by order of the Committee,

WILLIAM ALLEN, Chairman.

27, *New Broad Street, September* 10*th*, 1841.

No. XVII.

ON BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

PETITION.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,

SHEWETH,

That whilst your petitioners sincerely rejoice in the fact that the African slave-trade has been declared piracy by the legislature of this country, and that the law of the land denounces every British subject directly or indirectly engaged therein as a felon, and subjects him, on conviction, to the ignominious punishment of a felon; they deeply lament that not a few of their opulent countrymen, occupying influential positions in society as manufacturers and merchants, as officers in her Majesty's army and navy, and as civil functionaries, are well known to have been guilty of this flagrant crime, either personally or by their agents, unawed by the fear of God or of man, and still persist in the same, unaffected by the cruel sufferings and degradation they inflict on humanity, and uninfluenced by the requirements and denunciations of law, whether human or divine.

That your petitioners would call the attention of your right honourable House to the fact, that there have been formed, at different periods during the last fifteen years, various mining companies in this country, with large capitals at their disposal, who carry on their operations in the empire of Brazil, or in the Spanish island of Cuba; that their mines are worked principally by slaves purchased by the agents of those companies; that the greater part, if not the whole, of these victims of oppression have been illicitly imported into these countries since the period when such importation was declared contraband, felonious, or piratical; and that, as your petitioners are informed and believe, these companies still continue to purchase newly-imported Africans, to supply the wastes of mortality, or to meet the other exigencies of their establishments.

That your petitioners lament to say, that officers of her Majesty's army and navy, as well as functionaries in the civil service, have accepted engagements in connexion with these companies; and that they are informed and believe that such persons have been the agents employed in the purchase of slaves on account of the same.

That your petitioners call the attention of your right honourable House to the fact, that banking companies, with large funds at their disposal, have also been formed in this country; and that they either have already formed, or are in process of forming, branch establishments in countries where the slave-trade is carried on, or where slavery in all its horrors still exists.

That your petitioners grieve to say that there are manufactured in this country, in enormous quantities, articles known by the name of coast goods, which are employed exclusively in the African slave-trade, in barter

for human beings; and that these form a considerable branch of the export trade of this country to Brazil and Cuba, and to the western coast of Africa.

That the consignees of British merchants and manufacturers, or branch houses of their establishments in Brazil and Cuba, dispose of such goods to persons well known as traffickers in human beings; that they not unfrequently have, if not a direct, yet an indirect interest, by conditional arrangements, in the guilty traffic itself; and that in all cases they vend such goods, well knowing the disgraceful and inhuman object to which they are to be applied.

That your petitioners are informed and fully believe, that fetters and shackles employed in the slave-trade, or in the punishment and torture of slaves, form part of the export trade of this country to Brazil and Cuba.

That your petitioners have grounds for knowing that vessels have been built in this country specially for the slave-trade, and they have reason to fear that many have been covertly prepared for that nefarious traffic in British harbours.

That your petitioners deeply regret to add, that British subjects have become the purchasers of estates in Brazil and the Spanish colonies, which they work by slaves, and which they have stocked, either wholly or in part, with newly-imported Africans; thus giving the benefit of their wealth, skill, and enterprise to the maintenance of these enormous evils.

It will thus be seen by your right honourable House, that British subjects, instigated by the sordid love of gain, to the great dishonour of their country, and in defiance of its laws, are either directly or indirectly among the chief props and supports of the African slave-trade; that they supply capital, or the means of carrying it on, to a fearful extent, reckless of the miseries which they inflict on the human race, the insult they offer to the Most High, and the evil example they set to others; that they obstruct the consummation of that great work to which the legislature, the government, and the people of this country have so nobly devoted themselves, and to secure which they have spent millions of the national treasure; that they offer the chief impediment to a peaceful, legitimate, and lucrative commerce with Africa; that they prevent the civilisation and religious improvement of its people; and that they render the expensive armaments which are kept up on the coasts of Africa, Cuba, and Brazil, the means of increasing the horrors, without diminishing the extent, of the slave-trade.

Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly implore your right honourable House, either to extend the provisions of the act 5th Geo. IV. cap. 113, commonly called the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition act of 1824, so as effectually to prevent British subjects from holding and purchasing slaves in foreign countries, under any pretences whatsoever, and to bring to speedy and condign punishment those of them who have hitherto violated with impunity the existing laws; or to appoint a committee of your right honourable House to inquire forthwith into the facts alleged by your petitioners, whose duty it shall be to report to your right honourable House such measures as may be deemed requisite to suppress effectually the guilty practices referred to.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WOODWARK, Chairman of the Committee.

London, September 20th, 1841.

BRAZIL.

Extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners to Lord Palmerston, dated July 14, 1838.

It will not, we hope, be regarded as irrelevant to this subject, if we in conclusion again advert to the indirect, if it should not rather be called direct, interest which British merchants and British capital in Brazil derive from the slave-trade. With what but British goods is the African market, the freight which is to be bartered for the slave, supplied? With what but slave labour are the works, originating in British capital and enterprise, carried on in this country? How are the various mines, which but for similar support would soon become inoperative, worked? *Not by free, but by slave labour.*

Alluding to the capture of certain slavers, which had recently taken place, the commissioners say—"*The moment the seizures were known, claims for payment were abruptly pressed by persons calling themselves British,* as well as French merchants, *on those who had taken their goods.* The constant answer was, 'Go to the British commissioners; let them release our vessels and property, and then, and not till then, shall you be paid.' With this answer they were obliged to be content; and, indeed, we have been assured, that it is no uncommon practice, which, however, we do not undertake to vouch for as a fact, with some of the commission houses here, of Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, to sell their goods intended for the African market *on conditional terms;* the debt to be acquitted, in part or in the whole, according as the adventure may ultimately prove successful or otherwise." (Slave-trade Papers, 1838-9, Class A, p. 171.)

Extracts of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners to Viscount Palmerston.

Rio de Janeiro, May 6th, 1839.

In confirmation, we observed that it was chiefly with British goods, technically called *coast goods,* that the African market was supplied through this country, and that the payment of the same had been in some instances refused, temporarily or conditionally, by those whose speculations had been ruined by the capture of their vessels.

As regarded British capital, which, we have been assured on what we consider good authority, has suffered severely in this city from the recent captures, we reminded your lordship that the various undertakings going on in this country, which are every day multiplying, and which are for the most part the result of British enterprise, are all dependent on slave labour.

In a despatch from her Majesty's commissioners, dated the 10th August, 1837, it was stated that the property of the Candonga Mining Company, in this country, was, by express instruction from the association in London, to be worked wholly, or as much as possible, by hired negroes. We since learn that this has been found impracticable, and that this company now goes into the market for its slave labour like any other establishment.

Extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners to Lord Palmerston, dated 14th April, 1840.

We add to this despatch a translated extract from a journal of this city, supposed by some to be under the influence of Senhor Vasconcellos, but certainly allied to him in sentiment:—"The English merchants were

never opposed to this, and we declare, on this occasion, that we have a great respect for the English merchants of Rio de Janeiro, not only for the manner in which they conduct themselves in our internal concerns, but principally for the way in which they contribute to the ransom of blacks in Africa, whether by ordering goods fit to be employed in this work of humanity, whether by lending their money to the adventurers, or whether, as it is said, by insuring the vessels destined for the coast." (Slave-trade Papers, 1840, Class A, pp. 298 and 302.)

Extract of a letter of a correspondent, dated Rio de Janeiro, 29th Nov., 1841.

"I have further learned that three English houses," the names of which are given, "have suffered great loss (upwards of £12,000) from trusting their goods to a slaver, *to be paid for on landing the slaves in Rio.* The vessel was taken by the English."

SPANISH COLONIES.

Speaking of the copper mines of Cuba, Mr Turnbull says, "After all that we had heard of the value and importance of these works, their actual extent did not fail to surprise us. We learned from Mr Hardy that the labourers employed were nearly nine hundred in number; but, to our great regret, we found that *more than the half of them were slaves;* some the property of the Mining Company, [chiefly composed of Englishmen,] and others hired out, as is not uncustomary, from their owners in the neighbourhood." (Travels in the West, pp. 8, 9.)

"I fear it is not to be doubted that there are men of large capital in the British metropolis who lay out their money at the large interest which the slave-trader can afford to pay; and it is within my knowledge that certain individuals of immense wealth, who, although bearing a foreign patronymic, are, to all intents and purposes, British subjects, who, not content with risking their money to secure this high rate of interest, have actually stipulated, on becoming sleeping partners in one of the most notorious slaving houses at the Havana, the better to enable them, as they fondly imagine, to bring their French and Spanish partners to account." (Ibid., p. 141.)

OPINION OF LORD BROUGHAM.

"But the question is this:—Has it been lawful since the abolition law, meaning, of course, the law abolishing the slave-trade—has it been lawful for a British subject to purchase slaves, voluntarily to make himself the holder of slaves, to buy slaves or to sell slaves in a foreign country? The question arises upon the legality of that act; I have been represented as having said that such dealing was lawful, and was not struck at by the abolition law. Now, in presenting the petition, I carefully abstained from saying any such thing—I most carefully abstained from giving any such opinion. I could not have given any such opinion; because if called on to say whether it was lawful or not, my opinion certainly was, that it is illegal. I do not say it is a matter free from all doubt; but, certainly, though my opinion may be worth little, yet, as far as it goes, the abolition law strikes at those dealings; and I will state the grounds of that opinion. As your lordships will remember, a change took place in the abolition law in 1824. The act of 1811 (the 51st Geo. III. c. 23.), which I had the great satisfaction of introducing, and which obtained the unanimous concurrence of the House of Commons and of your lordships, in every stage of the Bill, made slave-trading punishable as a crime; before that time, it had

only been dealt with as an offence against the revenue laws—treated as smuggling, and visited with fine and forfeiture. But my bill made it a felony. Then in 1824, a material alteration was made; slave-trading was divided into two kinds, one being declared to be piracy and liable to capital punishment, if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction; and the other, if out of that jurisdiction, declared to be a clergyable felony, and punished with fourteen years' transportation.

"I feel bound to state my inability to understand on what view of the law those respectable parties have been advised to proceed, who have embarked in these speculations—have become the owners of slaves by purchase; or, which is the same thing, have by their agents purchased and sold, or transferred and removed, slaves in Cuba or in Brazil. I am unable to perceive upon what view of the law they can have been advised that they may safely embark in such speculations. So, likewise, it is made felony, by the tenth section, knowingly to lend or advance money or goods to be employed in accomplishing any of the objects hereinbefore forbidden or declared to be unlawful—those objects being the buying, selling, bartering, or in any manner dealing in slaves or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves. How any person can have been advised, with a due regard to the provisions of these acts, either to send goods or to advance money for the purpose of working a concern which requires the buying and selling of slaves, surpasses my powers of comprehension." (*Vide* Lord Brougham's Speech, delivered in the House of Lords on the 5th October, 1841.)

No. XVIII.

UNITED STATES.

PROGRESS OF THE ABOLITION CAUSE.

The rise of the present abolition movement, says Mr Sturge, in his "Visit to the United States," dates from the year 1832, when a few persons met at Philadelphia, and adopted and signed a declaration of their sentiments. He, however, who would trace anti-slavery sentiments to their source, must go back to the first era of Christianity, and to the authoritative promulgation of the divine law of love by the lips of the Saviour of mankind himself. In the darkest times, since that period, the true doctrine of the unlawfulness of slavery has never been wholly lost, being, in fact, a part of the imperishable substance of vital Christianity.

The following account of the present state of the cause is furnished by my friend, John G. Whittier:—

"He who, at the present time, judges of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in the United States by statistics of the formation of new societies, or the activity and efficiency of the old, will obtain no adequate idea of the truth. The unfortunate divisions among the American abolitionists, and the difficulty of uniting, for any continuous effort, those who differ widely as to the proper means to be used, and measures to be pursued, have in a great measure changed the direction and manifestation of anti-slavery feeling and action. Thus, while public opinion, in all the free states, is manifestly approximating to abolition, and new converts to its principles are daily avowing themselves, it is exceedingly rare to hear of the formation of a new anti-slavery society, and there are few accessions to those which are already in existence. Yet the fresh recipients of the truths of anti-slavery doctrine find abundant work for their hands to do, even without the pale of organised societies, in purifying the churches with which they are connected, and in counteracting the pro-slavery politics of the country.

"The two great political parties in the United States, radically disagreeing in almost all other points, are of one heart and mind in opposing emancipation; not, I suppose, from any real affinity to, or love for the "Peculiar Institution," but for the purpose of securing the votes of the slave-holders, who, more consistent than the northern abolitionists, refuse to support any man for office, who is not willing to do homage to slavery. The competition between these two parties for southern favour is one of the most painful and disgusting spectacles which presents itself to the view of a stranger in the United States. To every well-wisher of America, it must be a matter of interest and satisfaction to know that there is a growing determination in the free states to meet the combination of slave-holders in behalf of slavery, by one of freemen in behalf of liberty; and thus compel the party politicians, on the ground of expediency, if not of principle, to break from the thraldom of the slave power, and array themselves on the side of freedom.

"It is an undoubted fact, that, at the present time, the various denominations of professing Christians in the United States are more deeply agitated by this question than at any former period. The publication of such books as Weld's "Slavery as it is," has unveiled the monstrous features of slavery to the Christian public in the northern states. The blasphemous attempts of southern professors and ministers to defend their abominable practices upon Christian grounds, have powerfully re-acted against them at the north; and church after church, especially in New England, is taking the high stand of the late General Convention in London, in withholding its fellowship from slave-holders, and closing its pulpit against their preachers.

"Recent movements in the slave states themselves encourage the friends of freedom. In Kentucky, at the late election for state officers, one of the candidates, Cassius M. Clay, nephew of Henry Clay, avowed his opposition to pro-slavery principles in the strongest terms, and staked his election upon this avowal. He was warmly supported; and his opponent only succeeded by a small majority. Tenessee, in her mountain region, has many decided, uncompromising abolitionists, whose encouraging letters and statements have been published within the last year, in the northern anti-slavery papers. The excellent work of Joseph John Gurney on the West Indies, and Dr Channing's late pamphlet, entitled "Emancipation," have been very widely circulated in many of the slave states, and, so far as can be ascertained, have been read with interest by the planters. The movements of English and French abolitionists have attracted general attention, and in the southern states have awakened no small degree of solicitude.

"That baleful American peculiarity—prejudice against colour—is evidently diminishing under the influence of anti-slavery principles and practice; and the laws which have oppressed the free coloured citizen, are rapidly yielding to the persevering action of the abolitionists. Dr Channing has not over-stated the fact that the provision in the federal constitution, relative to the reclaiming of fugitive slaves, has been silently but effectually repealed by the force of public opinion, and the interposition of jury trial, in many of the free states. In Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine, and New York, with the exception of its slavery-ridden commercial emporium, the recovery of a slave by legalised kidnappers is entirely out of the question. In any one of these states it would, to use the language of a New York mechanic, be exceedingly difficult to prove to the satisfaction of a jury of honest freemen that a man had been born contrary to the declaration of independence. The frontiers of slavery are everywhere very much exposed, and all along the line of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky,

Virginia, and Missouri, the tide of self-emancipated men and women is puring in upon the free states."

The following is an extract from the *Centerville Times*, a Maryland paper:—

"There is not an interest that is not impaired by the proximity of the free states, and the protection there afforded to slaves; and by the presence and intercommunion of the free with the slave negro. Even the value of land is diminished by it. Maryland suffers the disadvantages, without the advantages, of a slave state. The disadvantage consists in the reputation (the odium, north of the Delaware) of being a slave state. *The capitalists of the north refuse, on that account, to invest in Maryland lands, though they could buy land in Maryland for twenty dollars an acre, which is intrinsically worth more than theirs, which they could sell for an hundred.* Our condition is, in fact, that of neither the one nor the other; and unless something can be done to counteract the progress of fanaticism on this subject, and that abuse of strength and heedless injustice which always follows irresponsible power, *slavery in Maryland must cease, either by sale, while that right remains to the slave-holder, or, ere long, by forced emancipation.*

"Virginia—once proud and independent Virginia, already half captive to the north—will soon take her place as the frontier slave state; Maryland, with her southern principles eaten out by northern men, will then assume to her the relation that Pennsylvania now bears to Maryland; nay, it is but too obvious that, as things are now working, in process of time, and that not slowly, *slavery must cease to exist in all the provision-growing states;* its northernmost line will be the line of the sugar, the rice, and the cotton culture—the climate alone affording to the slave-holder that shelter which justice could not offer from the rapacity of his pursuers. Will the southern still accept the shadow, without the substance, of equal and confederate powers? Be his relation, then, what it may—independent, confederate, or colonial—for one, we say, let it be defined. To the misery of the slave let him not add the meanness of the dupe. Let him remember that time and corruption have often achieved what would have defied the power of the sword; in a word, let the slave-holder think while yet, if yet, he has power to act."

I have now, says Mr Sturge, concluded an imperfect attempt to delineate the present state of the anti-slavery cause on the North American continent. In regard to the future, my hopes are built on the continuance of these efforts, and on the concurrent aid afforded by the march of events both in the United States and in the world at large; under the manifestly over-ruling power of that gracious Being who sometimes employs human instrumentality to accomplish his purposes of mercy, but who works also himself by his immutable laws and by the dispensations of his providence.

THE AMISTAD NEGROES.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, &c., &c., &c.

My Lord,—Since I had the honour of an interview with Lord Canning, respecting the safe conveyance of the Africans taken on board the *Amistad*, from the United States to Sierra Leone, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have received communications from their friends at New York, stating that, in consequence of the state of health of the Mendians and the approach of winter, which they are unable to endure, it had been resolved to forward them to their native home at the earliest possible period; that the barque *Gentleman* had been engaged for that purpose; that they will be accompanied by William Raymond and

James Steele, both pious men, abolitionists, attached to the people ofcolour, and preachers of the gospel, and Henry Richard Wilson, a coloured man (a native of Barbadoes) as catechist; that it is the intention of Messrs Raymond and Wilson "to take up their abode in Mendi as long as the providence of God may direct; and that the vessel which has been engaged was expected to leave the United States some time in the month of November; that this arrangement was made previously to the arrival of the intelligence that your lordship had favourably entertained the proposition submitted by the deputation of the London Committee; and that all that now remains to be done is, respectfully to request your lordship to forward instructions, by the earliest opportunity, to the British consul at Cape de Verds, to the acting governor of Sierra Leone, and to the admiral on the station, to afford the Mendians and their companions all the aid in their power, in order to secure their safe arrival in their own country.

In making this communication to your lordship I do but express the feeling entertained by the members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, and the friends of the Mendians in the United States, when I say that we all feel deeply obliged for the considerate kindness of your lordship in giving a favourable answer to our united request for the safe conduct of these poor people to Sierra Leone; and that we shall feel still further obliged if, during their stay there, they can be naturalised. Such a measure, we venture to think, if it can be carried into effect, will not only throw the shield of British protection over these people in future, but operate most favourably on their countrymen, by showing them the deep interest which the government and people of this country take in their welfare, and their deep-rooted hatred to the slave-trade. The Mendians are thirty-five in number: Cinque, who is regarded as their head man, is the son of a chief. Since their residence in the United States they have been taught to read and write, and their progress in useful and Christian knowledge has been very remarkable. Their country, Mendi or Kossa, is said to be from seventy to one hundred miles from Sierra Leone. This contiguity to the British settlements, when coupled with the extraordinary circumstances under which they are restored to their country, it is hoped will facilitate every proper measure that may be adopted in that direction for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, and for the introduction of Christian civilisation into that part of the African continent.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN SCOBLE.

No. 27, *New Broad street,*
Dec. 10*th*, 1841.

A second letter having been forwarded to the Earl of Aberdeen, on the 20th December, announcing the departure of the Mendians from New York, on the 27th November, 1841, the following reply was received.

(REPLY.)

Foreign Office, December 23*rd*, 1841.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 10th and of the 20th inst., respecting the Mendian Africans now on their return to Mendi by way of Sierra Leone; and I am to request that you will inform the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that his lordship has taken measures for procuring for the individuals in question every aid which can with propriety be given to them by the British Admiral on the African station, the senior officer on the west coast of Africa, the lieutenant-governor of Sierra Leone, and her Majesty's consul at the Cape Verd Islands.

With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in your letter, that these negroes should be naturalised during their stay at Sierra Leone, I am to inform you that the question is under consideration, but that Lord Aberdeen is not at present prepared to state whether or not the wishes of the society in this respect can properly be complied with.

I am, sir, &c., &c.,

J. Scoble, Esq. CANNING.

NOTE.—The liberated captives, together with two missionaries and one assistant missionary and their wives, safely arrived at Sierra Leone on the 15th January, and were kindly received by the colonial government. It was judged best for the main body of them to remain at the colony, while a small band went forward to explore the interior, and select the best route and the best location for the mission.

No. XIX.

CASE OF THE CREOLE.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

MY LORD,—However much the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society may regret the existence of any causes of irritation between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, arising out of the existence of slavery in the latter country, and of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, they cannot but rejoice that in the eyes of enlightened humanity and of Christian philanthropy, the cause of human freedom, civilisation, and happiness, is earnestly sought to be promoted by the former; and that a large body of the citizens of the United States, in common with the people of England, are uniting their best efforts for the removal of those causes of irritation, by the universal extinction of the evils to which, unhappily, they owe their birth.

The case of the *Creole*, like that of the *Amistad*, is exciting not only the profound attention of public men, but stirring the deep sympathies of the public mind on both sides the Atlantic. In common with the friends of humanity at large, the Committee feel the deepest solicitude as to the ultimate fate of the negroes now in the custody of her Majesty's authorities at the Bahamas, for the part they are reported to have taken in the affair of the *Creole*. That solicitude induces them to lay before your lordship conclusions to which they have arrived after a careful review of this deeply interesting and important case, and which they venture respectfully to submit to the consideration of her Majesty's government.

There are two versions of the *Creole* affair, one derived from the protest of certain persons who formed part of the crew of that vessel, made before a notary at New Orleans; and the other founded on private information from Bahamas. From the first it appears that the *Creole* left Hampton Roads, in the state of Virginia, on the 30th of October last, "laden with manufactured tobacco in boxes and slaves," for New Orleans; that whilst on the voyage a part of them, nineteen in number, "rose on the officers, crew, and passengers, killed one passenger, severely wounded the captain and a part of the crew, and compelled the first mate to navigate the said vessel to Nassau, New Providence." It appears also from the same protest, that after they had accomplished their object, they were guilty of no excesses, but treated all the whites on board with great humanity, dressing the wounds of those that were injured, supplying them with their usual food, and only keeping them apart and under such restraints as were necessary to secure their safe arrival at a British port; and to use their

own simple but emphatic language, "all that they had done was for their freedom." On their arrival at Nassau, they were charged with mutiny and murder, and placed under the custody of the authorities of the island, until the government shall decide whether they shall be tried there, or elsewhere, for the alleged crimes.

From the latter account, it appears that the negroes having discovered their proximity to a British island, demanded to be landed there; that this was resisted by the captain, passengers, and crew; that thereupon a struggle for the mastery commenced, which terminated in the triumph of the negroes, and the loss of two lives, one a passenger on board the *Creole*, who had the care of a portion of the slaves, and one of the negroes, who died of the injuries he received on his arrival at Nassau, where those implicated in the rising were given into custody, and the remainder of the slaves allowed to go free.

Whichever of these accounts be the true one, or whatever may have been the means by which the negroes achieved their liberty, the Committee presume it cannot alter the decision of her Majesty's government in the case. They are persuaded that under the circumstances which took place, neither the charge of mutiny or murder can be sustained in a British court of justice. If these offences have been committed, they have been committed against American citizens, on board an American vessel, and can only be dealt with in American courts. The negroes of the *Creole* were forcibly placed on board that vessel as slaves—they were forcibly detained on board as slaves—they were detained for the New Orleans market as slaves. This they knew; and to avoid the horrors and degradation of the condition that awaited them, as well as to relieve themselves from the bondage in which they were held, they rose upon those to whose custody they had been committed, asserted their natural rights, and, after a short but severe struggle, secured their freedom. That homicide was committed during the affray is justly to be deplored and deprecated; but that homicide is to be traced to the resistance made by those who endeavoured by force of arms to retain them in slavery, not to a spirit of vengeance on the part of the negroes. They sought not life but liberty; and that obtained, their subsequent conduct must be regarded as an admirable specimen of forbearance, self-government, and humanity. In confirmation of the views of the Committee, they refer to the decisions of the United States courts, in the case of the Mendians found on board the *Amistad*, in which it was held that the alleged offence of murder, with which they stood charged, having been committed on board a *foreign* ship, was without their jurisdiction, and such they have full confidence will be the decision of the British courts also.

The only question which remains to be noticed is, whether the United States have a right to claim these negroes, either as slaves or as felons. The Committee conceive the first point as finally settled by the British government: they cannot and will not be delivered up as slaves; and with respect to the other point, they conceive it is equally clear that these negroes cannot be delivered up, merely because they have been charged with a capital crime by some American citizens. They are not felons by the laws of England, nor by the laws of nations; but even if they were so, the United States have no authority, under treaty with Great Britain, to require them to be delivered over to the vengeance of their laws; and the uniform custom of that country runs counter to such a demand. They will not deliver up criminals to the demands of this country, whatever the offence may be with which they stand charged.

The Committee feel themselves, therefore, at liberty to consider the negroes, recently taken from on board the *Creole*, and now in the custody

of her Majesty's officers in Bahamas, to be safe; and they have respectfully, yet earnestly, to request, in their behalf, that her Majesty's government will be pleased to afford them such protection as their circumstances may require.

On behalf of the Committee,
JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society,
New Broad Street,
7th February, 1842.

The above memorial was presented by a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:—Messrs William Allen, Joseph Sturge, John Scoble, Rev. J. H. Hinton, Messrs John Beaumont, Henry Tuckett, Benjamin Wiffen, and John Dunlop of Edinburgh, and was very courteously received. After the memorial had been read to his lordship, he freely expressed his sentiments on the case, leading to the hope that a measure would be adopted by the British government, such as has since been announced in the house of Lords—namely, an order for their immediate liberation.

OPINIONS OF THE LAW LORDS ON THE CASE OF THE CREOLE.

Lord Brougham:—"There was no power by law to seize, still less to detain or to surrender up, any person having committed an offence, however grave that offence might be, within the jurisdiction or limits of any other country; whether he were an alien or not, there was no power to give him up until the legislature of this country should arm the government with a power to do so."

The Earl of Aberdeen:—"Informed the House what the course of her Majesty's government had been on this question. As their lordships might well imagine, her Majesty's government had given the question their most serious and anxious attention; and, after taking advantage of all the assistance which they thought desirable on the subject, they had satisfied themselves that by the laws of this country there is no machinery or authority for bringing those persons to trial for mutiny and murder, still less for delivering them up or detaining them in custody. His noble friend, the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, had therefore sent out instructions for releasing those persons who had hitherto been detained."

Lord Denman:—"Believed that all Westminster hall, including the judicial bench, were of the same opinion as had been expressed by the noble earl; and that, by the law of England, there were no means whatever of delivering up persons accused of crimes committed in foreign countries." After quoting the opinion of many eminent English and American jurisconsults in support of this view of the case, his lordship added—"It was perfectly clear that the law of England furnished no machinery or process by which a person flying from another country could be taken and detained, still less delivered over. And he would have been prepared to warn the Secretary of State, on the authority of the most eminent lawyers, that he could not so act without being liable to the danger of an action for damages for false imprisonment, and the still more awful danger of putting a person upon his trial in a case where the punishment was death. It was perfectly clear that an alien, seized in this country for a crime alleged to have been committed in a foreign country, might resist with force the party attempting to make the seizure; and if the resistance ended in the loss of his life, the seizing parties might be tried for murder, and, if convicted, might be executed. It was desirable, as his noble and learned friend, Lord Brougham, had declared, that a power should be established

by which one country might be enabled to seize criminals for crimes committed in others; but such a right must be founded on the supposition that the laws of all countries were reasonable and just, for no country was entitled to enforce a law which was believed to be founded in injustice. He believed that the states of America had refused to give up a British subject who had committed forgery, because they disapproved of the punishment of death then inflicted in this country for the crime. Till the laws in each country were such as a Christian country ought to adopt, they could not be enforced by one another. He could not help expressing his wish that the distinguished persons who were at the head of the jurisprudence of America might be able to bring the law of America into this state; yet he could not but observe that the existence of slavery itself, and still more the existence of the slave-trade, and, above all, the encouragement to that trade, formed an insuperable difficulty to our government entering into any such treaty, or persuading the legislature to consent to such a law. Any state of the law in such a country might involve a decision upon a question of slavery, and he was sure that the government of England would never give any encouragement, directly or indirectly, to slavery; still less would they act as policemen or gaolers to enforce the rights of the master over the slave; they would rather rejoice that 200 individuals, who had been reduced to a state of slavery, had restored themselves to liberty.

Lord Campbell referred to an opinion imputed to him, which, he assured the House, he had never expressed; on the contrary, from the earliest moment he had studied the subject, he had come but to one conclusion, and to that conclusion he most firmly adhered. By the law of nations no foreign state had a right to make such a demand, and by the municipal law of England there was no power to comply with it if made. Upon this subject, perhaps, the best treatise had been published by Mr Malin, of Gottingen, who put the question in the clearest point of view. He laid it down, and upon that there could be no doubt, that a sovereign might punish foreigners for offences committed in his territory; but he added, "There is no case in which a sovereign is obliged to send criminals for punishment into their own country, or to the place where the crime was committed—not even if they had been condemned before they made their escape." As to the other question, supposed to arise out of the facts connected with the *Creole*, he supposed that no more would be heard of the claim of compensation for slaves liberated on their arrival in an English port. While slavery existed in any of the territories of Great Britain the *lex loci* might perhaps prevail; but there was an end of slavery, and a slave was as much free when he arrived in the Bahamas or at Bermuda, as if he had reached Portsmouth or Plymouth. No wrong having been committed, there must be an end of the notion of compensation. Such was his decided opinion, and he apprehended that the government of the United States would see that it had no ground of complaint whatever against this country.

Lord Cottenham entirely concurred in what had been said by his noble and learned friend. He had yet heard nothing to the contrary, and should wait until some adverse arguments were produced before he thought it necessary to trouble the House.

The Lord Chancellor said he had been consulted upon the question, as well as the Attorney and Solicitor-general; and without pretending to state the terms in which their opinion had been given, he might say that it fully agreed with what had been advanced by noble and learned lords who had already spoken. He did not think that a second opinion could be entertained.

Lord Brougham added, that two other noble and learned friends, Lords Wynford and Abinger, not now present, had authorised him to say that their opinions entirely coincided with those already expressed.

(*Vide* Proceedings of the House of Lords, 14th February, 1842.)

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

New York, 1*st April*, 1842.

Dear Sir,—I am instructed by our committee to express to you their high gratification at the determination of your government not to surrender the negroes of the *Creole*, either as felons or as slaves. It is now understood that their *surrender* will not be insisted on by our cabinet, but that a pecuniary compensation for the loss of these human chattels will be peremptorily demanded.

We are consulting the interests, not merely of humanity, but also of our country, when we unhesitatingly declare our earnest wish that this demand may be promptly and resolutely refused. It would tend greatly to strengthen and perpetuate slavery among us, were other nations to recognise our property in human beings, beyond the actual jurisdiction of our slave code.

By acceding, moreover, to this demand, your government would become in fact, to a very great extent, *insurers* of our American slave-traders against shipwreck and revolt. This American slave-trade is a most inhuman and detestable traffic, little, if any, inferior in atrocity to the African trade; and our slave-holders are exceedingly anxious to compel Great Britain to recognise and respect it as a legitimate commerce.

If Portugal still authorised the slave-trade, and a cargo of Africans should happen to be brought into London, under circumstances like those under which the *Creole* negroes were carried into your West Indies, would the British nation condescend to participate in the accursed commerce, by calculating and paying the market price of men, women, and children?

We are happy to assure you that anti-slavery principles are rapidly extending at the north, and are gaining converts even at the south. The anti-slavery *organisation* is from various causes less efficient than formerly; but the tone of public opinion is decidedly improved, while the opposition to us has diminished in strength and virulence.

We perceive at present but one obstacle to our ultimate and entire triumph, and that is the possible annexation of Texas to the United States. Should this renegade republic be received into the Union, not only would the permanency of slavery be secured in this country, but the curse would probably be spread over Mexico, and perhaps far beyond it. The annexation is the last hope of the slave-holders, and to effect it, their agents at Washington will endeavour to involve this country in a war with Mexico —a measure which they justly believe would result in a union with Texas. The abolitionists will do their best to avert so dire a calamity, but it is uncertain how far success will attend their efforts.

We shall be happy to receive frequent communications from you, and to co-operate with you in promoting the great cause of human liberty.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Simeon S. Jocelyn,

Corresponding Secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

Extract of a letter from Judge Jay to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, Jan. 6, 1842.

You will have heard before you receive this, of the affair of the Creole, one of our coasting slavers. She left Virginia for New Orleans the last of October, with a cargo of 135 slaves; while on the voyage, the slaves, or a portion of them, rose on the crew, and after a slight struggle, became masters of the vessel. There were twelve white men, and only one was killed. The wounded, including the captain, were humanely treated by the negroes, who dressed their wounds. The vessel was carried into Nassau, where all the slaves were liberated, except nineteen concerned in the "mutiny," who were confined by the authorities to await the orders of the home government.

Our slave-holders are in great wrath, and mean, if possible, to terrify your government into a surrender of the nineteen murderers, that they may be suspended from southern gibbets *in terrorem.* They will, no doubt, be demanded in peremptory terms by our minister in London. In my opinion, this surrender would be most disgraceful to Great Britain, most cruel, wicked, and pusillanimous.

Admitting them to be murderers, by what law is your government authorised to surrender to the United States nineteen human beings to be put to death? The law of nations does not require it. We made a treaty with you in 1794, by which each party agreed to surrender murderers, but that treaty expired, and, since then, we have refused to surrender murderers at the request of your government; as, for instance, in the case of the two Barnabees, who fled to this country from Ireland; and in the case of one Holmes, who committed a very atrocious murder in Canada. Also in the case of the Amistad negroes we refused to surrender the alleged murderers to the Spanish minister.

If you cannot surrender them as murderers, can you as fugitive slaves? If you surrender these men, on what plea can you afford protection to the 12,000 fugitives in Canada? Have we a right to claim favours we do not reciprocate? There is no law authorising the surrender of a foreign fugitive; and, so far have we been hitherto from clain ing the surrender by you of fugitives as a right, that we once offered to agree to surrender all fugitives from your West India islands, provided and on condition that you would bind yourselves, by treaty, to surrender such slaves as might flee to Canada. I mention these facts that you may see that the claim we shall prefer for the surrender of the Creole negroes is as contrary to international law as it is to the law of Almighty God. There is not one of the slave-holders who are now thirsting for the blood of these negroes, who would, in similar circumstances, have scrupled to take human life. Do let your government and people understand the true state of the case. I do hope your ministry will listen to the dictates of justice, humanity, and national honour.

On the 29th January, 1842, the Hon. Daniel Webster, Foreign secretary of the United States, addressed a despatch to his excellency, Edward Everett, Esq., the resident minister of that country at the British court, instructing him to demand in the name of his government, not the restoration of the slaves escaped from the *Creole*, for that, under the circumstances of the case, would be clearly impossible—not the trial of that portion of the slaves, nineteen in number, who stood charged with piracy, for that would be equally impossible; but to "lose no time in calling Lord Aberdeen's attention to it (the case of the *Creole*) in a general manner, and giving him a narrative of the transaction, such as may be framed from

the papers now communicated (the protests made at Nassau, New Orleans, &c.), with a distinct declaration, that if the facts turn out as stated, this government thinks it a clear case for indemnification."

In connexion with this hypothetical demand, the hon. gentleman lays down certain positions, in conducting his argument, utterly subversive of the law and the comity of nations, and equally opposed to common justice and common sense; yet on the plea which he raises, he intimates, that a refusal on the part of the British government to acquiesce in their truth and equity, will be of "dangerous importance to the peace of the two countries."

So extraordinary a document could not fail to attract the attention of philanthropists and statesmen on both sides the Atlantic, and several dissertations have appeared in confutation of the hon. gentleman's doctrine.

Dr Channing opposes Mr Webster's view on the ground of its immorality, and says "his doctrine is as false as it is terrible." After having shown, by a reference to the practice of the English and American courts the unsoundness of the position taken, he argues the question on moral grounds in terms as convincing as they are eloquent:—"Let us view it in the light of eternal, universal truth. A grand principle is involved in the case, or rather lies at its very foundation, and to this," he says, "I ask particular attention. This principle is, that a man, as a man, has rights, has claims on his race, which are in no degree touched or impaired on account of the manner in which he may be regarded or treated by a particular clan, tribe, or nation of his fellow-creatures." This noble position he sustains by a series of admirable remarks; and coupling them with the fact that "slavery is the creature of a local law, having power not a handbreadth beyond the jurisdiction of the country which ordains it," he affirms that "the right of the slaves of the *Creole* to liberation was not at all touched by the mode in which they were brought to Nassau. No matter how they got there, whether by sea, land, or air; whether by help of saint or sinner. A man's right to freedom is derived from none of these accidents, but inheres in him as a man, and nothing which does not touch his humanity can impair it." (Duty of the Free States, &c., part first, pp. 14—30.)

Another American writer, of great ability, in a series of papers published originally in the *New York American*, has combated the assumptions of Mr Webster, with great force of argument and illustration, and gives the result of his inquiries in the following terms:—"1. That no national law or comity requires or authorises the surrender of the self-emancipated negroes of the *Creole*. 2. That in demanding the surrender of the alleged 'mutineers and murderers,' and indemnification for those coloured people who escaped at Nassau, we ask of Great Britain what, the case being reversed, the United States could not concede to her. 3. That neither the local law of Virginia, nor the United States' laws, which in this particular case can only be co-operative with the local law, can, in such a case, be deemed of force on the high seas. 4. That the settled law of England entitled every human being on board the *Creole* to freedom, the instant she reached the port of Nassau, and that diplomacy and policy cannot over-ride nor nullify that law. 5. That, in point of fact, the revolted slaves of the *Creole* cannot, without an equal abuse of language and of justice, be considered or treated either as mutineers or murderers. And, finally, that in making this a question of indemnification between the two governments, the decision of peace and war is put upon an issue where Great Britain cannot yield, and which the sober judgment of this country cannot ratify." (The *Creole* Case, pp. 37, 38.)

THE CREOLE NEGROES LIBERATED.

Nassau, N. P., April 16, 1842.

A special session of the Admiralty Court was convened this day to hear the charge of piracy against the seventeen negroes imprisoned from the Creole. The Attorney-general made his motion for delay of trial, on the ground that it was impossible to obtain the necessary evidence here, and offered for the perusal of the Court a number of affidavits of the captain, mate, and crew and passengers of the Creole, showing that sufficient evidence could be procured from the United States if time was allowed.

After an examination of the testimony offered, the Court replied that were the captain, crew, and passengers, as set forth in the affidavits, here present to testify in this case, they should consider them as not entitled to belief or credit, and should charge the jury to that effect; and that no evidence could be procured to convict the prisoners at the bar, for they were perfectly justified in the course pursued on board the Creole, and were about to be set free.

The Chief Justice then addressed the negroes something in this style:—"It has pleased God to set you free from the bonds of slavery—may you hereafter live the lives of good and faithful subjects of her Majesty's government." They were then set at liberty by proclamation.

No. XX.

DEPUTATION TO BRAZIL.

Mr Pilkington, accompanied by his wife, left England for the Brazils in the month of December, 1839, and arrived at Rio de Janeiro in the following February.

For some months, Mr P. prosecuted his inquiries as to the character and extent of the African slave-trade at that capital; he afterwards proceeded to Minas Geraes, where are situated the mines, which are principally carried on by various companies in London, and which are worked by slaves the property of those companies. After making himself acquainted with the system of slavery there, he visited Bahia, Pernambuco, Para, and Maranham, for the purpose of obtaining information relative to the state of slavery and the slave-trade in those provinces.

Extent of the Slave-trade.—Mr Pilkington, during his stay in Brazil, procured an account of the movements of 260 slavers, which, since 1835, have sailed from Rio de Janeiro alone. Of these, he found that 189 were Portuguese; 59 Brazilian; 11 Americans; and 1 Hamburghese. From all the information he could obtain, gathered from various official and private sources, he estimated that the number of negroes introduced between the years 1833 and 1840, inclusive, was about one million! The government derives no direct revenue from this traffic, but indirectly it realises a return from the duty of fifteen per cent. levied on all goods re-exported to the coast of Africa from Brazil. This duty was originally laid on as a check to the slave-trader. The authorities, from the highest to the lowest, with some two or three honourable exceptions, have a personal interest in conniving at this infamous traffic. Mr Pilkington was informed, by the Portuguese minister, that a regular tariff of fees is kept, according to the tonnage of the slave vessel, for the different public officers. From other quarters he ascertained that public officers, high in rank, were not only in receipt of fees, but engaged in the traffic. The justices of the peace take so much a-head regularly for allowing the imported Africans to land and pass—from £1 5s. to £3 10s. each.

The general condition of these victims of cupidity on landing is

emaciated in the extreme—often nothing but skin and bone—diseased to an awful extent; suffering from ophthalmia and small pox; numbers suffering from nostalgia, in other words, dying broken-hearted from separation from kindred and country.

Implication of British subjects in the Slave-trade.—The interest, says Mr P., of the English residents in the traffic may be exhibited in various ways. 1st. In the wants created by the existence of such an extensive trade calling for merchandise of all kinds. 2nd. In the direct sale of English manufactured cloths, technically called coast goods. 3rd. In direct agency. Of these the first seems to be the least exceptionable, yet not without a heavy share of responsibility, inasmuch as the extensive credit given to purchasers enables them to turn their capital over and over again. Of this class he had heard of one firm which, on a conscientious principle, did not import coast goods; and this house was said to have a floating credit of £200,000. The second class has, like the first, the responsibility of giving extensive credit, but it has not the same plea—viz. "that their customers misapply the funds if they purchase slaves with the proceeds;" for these sell directly to the coast merchants, and the credit is amply sufficient to allow of the slaves being imported and sold ere the payment becomes due. The third class, the direct agents, or consignees of vessels engaged in the slave-trade, has been discovered. For instance, when the *Recuperador* sailed for Africa with a cargo of English goods, the drawback was claimed by an English house. The claim, however, was not admitted. The vessel made three voyages, and was at length captured as a slaver by H. M. S. *Grecian.*

The negroes purchased for the use of the English gold mines were Africans; and the supplies, either for increased labour or to replace those who died, or were killed by the falling in of mines, &c., were from time to time of the like description. Many have suffered from the effect of seasoning. The medical officer attached to one of the mines told him that he had no idea of the misery which new slaves endured from acclimatisation, until he witnessed it. This was further confirmed by the sacristaö, or sexton of the neighbouring parish, whose office it is to attend all baptisms and burials. This individual informed him that his priest had, within the last three years, *baptized many new negroes for the English mine*, and that he had since buried thirty-seven of them. This Mr P. supposed to have been one-sixth of the number actually purchased.

Such are the evils which the system entails upon the proprietors; for, the deeper they sink their workings in the mine, the greater is the number of labourers required, and these cannot be supplied but by newly-imported Africans. Slaves of "good character" are not to be procured in sufficient numbers; as the creoles (those born in slavery) are considered very "bad characters;" and the ladinos (Africans trained to slavery) very much degenerated. For this reason large proprietors *look to the slave-trade* for occasional supplies, *and the holders of these shares have therefore no other hope than that their increasing demand for labour shall be supplied from the same source.*

English slave-holders in Brazil.—Nearly all the English house-keepers are owners of domestic slaves, whilst several are considerable proprietors of estates cultivated by these unhappy beings. Amongst the latter, Mr P. would class the English mining companies, five of which held 2078 in 1840:—viz., the Brazilian Imperial; the Brazilian Company; the Macaubas, or Cocaes Company; the Minas Geraes Company; the St Joao del Rey Company. It is remarkable that the Brazilian company is principally conducted by two naval officers, who are its agents. These purchase

Africans, whilst their brother officers serving in the British fleet are using every effort to suppress the inhuman trade.

In speaking of the treatment of slaves in the English gold mines, Mr P. says,—It must be distinctly understood, that they in no way depart from the general principle of compelling their slaves to work when they please, where they please, and how they please, whilst they withhold all the net proceeds of their regular labour. To effect this, they (to use their own words,) "feed them well, clothe them well, and flog them well." This last measure is, indeed, a matter of course; for unrequited labour cannot be procured without coercion, either from man or beast.

Mr P. was sorry to observe that Englishmen follow the mistaken expediency which prevails in the Brazils, of guardedly keeping their slaves in a state of ignorance. The Imperial Brazilian mine established a school about three years ago, but soon abandoned it in consequence of the displeasure of their neighbours. Hence, as education offers the only barrier to the immorality which is so rampant in Brazil as even to destroy the mind of the untutored African, it is not to be expected that, under such a system, the English, or any other set of men, can improve the character of those who may be born in their hands.

On the general treatment of slaves in Brazil, Mr P. quotes the authority of a native, as contained in a pamphlet entitled "Memoria Analytica à cerca do Commercio d'escravos," p. 43. "Atrocious punishments are common amongst us. Nevertheless, the false opinion is propagated that we are the best of slave-masters. If we be the most merciful, oh, what must the rest be! On the great sugar estates in the north of Brazil it would horrify you to witness the misery of the slaves, whose bodies, covered with wounds, sufficiently indicate the treatment of which they are continually the victims. In the provinces of Maranham and Piauhy, with which we are particularly conversant, '*as novenas*,' that is, whippings for nine successive days, is an ordinary punishment. The culprit is fastened to a cart, and there receives two or three hundred lashes; the mangled flesh is then cut, and cayenne pepper and salt are put into the wounds, to prevent, as they suppose, gangrene and corruption. I know a man named Joao Alvarenga, in Piauhy, who, when he wished to get rid of a slave, ordered him a 'novena,' and then exposed him in a sack to the burning sun, where the unhappy victim was further tortured to death. The punishment of the tarniquete, hand and neck stocks, thumbscrews, irons, stocks, and many other instruments of punishment, are common on our plantations; and even in our cities they are not rare. It might be supposed that we inherited all these instruments of torture, as if they had been in use only in barbarous ages, and were worthy only of tyrants and the inquisition; but it is not so. The art of torturing is much more advanced amongst us. To expose a slave for a whole night tied to a stake over an ant's nest (as is customary in some provinces), or on a cross, to the stinging of musquitos (as in Rio Grande de Sul), are refinements of barbarity peculiar to Brazil. And yet we are the best of masters."

The general food of slaves consists of jerked beef (beef slightly smoked and dried), farinha, or the flour of the manioc root, black beans, and the fat of salt pork. But the quantity, and whether all these articles are given or only part, depends entirely on the owner. One often sees in newspapers, advertisements of damaged and unsaleable goods, as beans, farinha, &c., "*para escravos*," for slaves.

For clothing they are entirely dependent on the master's will: it generally consists of a coarse cotton shirt and trowsers, with the addition of a woolen shirt for bad weather. Fifty, or one hundred, or more males are locked into a large barrack or barn at dark, and let out in the morning;

and no check or semblance of control over any abomination resulting from such treatment. In the government iron works, in the province of St Paulo, this system is literally adopted.

In the field the women are mostly employed in the same kind of labour as the men; but, of course, so much is not required of them as of males. Very little care is taken of pregnant females. The treatment of mothers entirely depends on the will or whim of the master or manager. In the large towns or cities it is the usual practice to hire out the mothers as wet nurses, which frequently causes the death of the infant.

The condition of the aged, infirm, and worn-out slaves is often very destitute. When unfit for work they are generally turned out of the house by their master (to do which he must give them their freedom), to shift for themselves. This is often the case, also, when negroes become blind, or otherwise unserviceable.

The privations of slaves are indeed innumerable; suffice it to say that they generally are in a condition scarcely superior to the beasts that perish. Their mental culture and necessities are entirely neglected.

The Portuguese pamphlet, "Memoria Analytica à cerca do Commercio d'escravos," contains the following corroborative evidence: "All the religion which is inculcated in Brazil consists of certain superstitious practices, mummeries, and absurdities. Far from instructing them in the existence of a Supreme Being superior to all, such a principle would not suit them. In order that a slave owner reign with sovereignty, it is necessary that his slaves be kept in ignorance of any authority superior to his will. Neither must the rewards and punishments which he may award be counterbalanced by other rewards and punishments, such as religion presents. The inculcation of such precepts would weaken the master's authority, and also be a check to the master's vices.

After Mr Pilkington's return to Rio de Janeiro from the northern provinces, having considered that he had obtained all the information which inquiry could elicit, he felt it his duty, previous to his departure for England, to protest against the evils he had witnessed. He accordingly published an address to the English residents, two thousand copies of which in Portuguese, and twelve hundred in English, were extensively distributed by him. This called forth a letter from a Roman catholic priest, which suggested to Mr Pilkington a reply, charging the Brazilian church with slave-holding and conniving at the contraband traffic in slaves, of which he published and circulated two thousand in English and two thousand in Portuguese. A third tract, demonstrative of the advantages of free labour from the results of emancipation in the British West Indies, being extracts from the letters of Joseph John Gurney and the speech of John Scoble, was also published, and two thousand copies in Portuguese widely circulated. Bound volumes containing the above tracts were sent to the emperor, each of the ministers and senators, and a large number of officers of state, and other influential persons in all the provinces. The discussion arising out of the perusal of these tracts elicited much valuable information, tending to confirm Mr Pilkington's previous observations, and from several respectable Brazilians he received cheering assurances of their entire and hearty concurrence with the principles developed in those publications.

No. XXI.

DEPUTATION TO HOLLAND.

In compliance with a special invitation from the anti-slavery committee, formed at Rotterdam, Messrs Alexander and Scoble proceeded thither to be present at the formation of a general Anti-slavery Society for the whole

of the Netherlands. In consequence, however, of the state of the weather, they were prevented arriving in time to meet the gentlemen assembled together from Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leyden, the Hague, and Rotterdam. Happy as they would have been to have met these friends of humanity on that occasion, they the less regretted having done so, as they found that the formation of the contemplated society had been deferred in consequence of some technical objections which had been raised thereto.

Having consulted with their friends at Rotterdam, the deputation felt it to be their duty to visit some of the principal cities of Holland, for the purpose of communicating with such friends of the anti-slavery cause as they might find in them; and of diffusing publicly, as opportunity might be afforded, the principles of the society they represented; and to give such information on the results of emancipation in the British colonies as might tend to silence the objections of the pro-slavery party in that country.

In pursuance of this determination they held a public meeting in Rotterdam, at which were present, amongst others, Baron Mackay, Judge Boghart, Judge Meertenden, Van Buren, an advocate, two of the remonstrant clergy, and two naval officers; several of the English residents, including the Revs Messrs Marks, Farebrother, and Miller, were also present on this occasion.

The statements of the deputation were listened to with the deepest interest; and they have reason to believe that the generous feelings of their friends in that city, not only received a new impulse, but that they determined to prosecute, with unabated earnestness, the great work in which they were engaged.

At the Hague the deputation met, by appointment, Messrs Groen Van Printserer, Gefkins, Eylout, Dr Capadose, and another gentleman, and had an opportunity of going very fully into particulars with them on the various points connected with the anti-slavery question, and were delighted to find that the sympathies of those gentlemen were strongly enlisted on behalf of the suffering and oppressed. Previously to their quitting the Hague, they had the satisfaction of receiving a visit from M. Van Damm van Isselt, the president of the second Dutch chamber, an enlightened and devoted friend of humanity, who had long interested himself in the cause of the slave. This gentleman assured them that his influence and his services would always be cheerfully given in promoting the abolition of slavery in the dependencies of Holland.

At Leyden, by the kind assistance of Professor Tiedemann, and M.M. Bodel Niewhuis and Fleming, the deputation were enabled to meet a party of influential gentlemen connected with the university of that city, as well as other persons of eminence. Among these were present, beside the above-named gentlemen, Dr I. F. Van Oordt, professor of theology; Drs Rutgers and P. O. Van der Chys, professors of philosophy and belles lettres, I. Van der Horen, professor of natural history; Messrs Kupplehout, Van der Hees, Van Herkel; and the Rev. Messrs Derwent, Dutch reformed, and Doyer, Mennonite, clergymen. The deputation addressed them at considerable length on the object of their visit, and were assured by Professor Van Oordt, in the name of those present, of the deep interest they felt in it, and their anxiety to co-operate in all proper ways for its accomplishment.

Thence the deputation proceeded to Amsterdam, where they had the pleasure of meeting, among others, the following gentlemen: Messrs I. F. de Neufville, an advocate, Oudenmuller, the proprietor of one of the largest estates in Demerara, Koenen, Bienfait; the Revs Messrs Jamieson, Ingram, and Murdoch; and Mr Mollet, a member of the society of Friends; before whom they laid the state of the anti-slavery question.

As might be supposed, they had to encounter some of the adversaries of abolition, as well as its timid friends; but they rejoice to be able to add that there also they found many enlightened and influential advocates of human freedom.

In consequence of information from England, Mr Alexander found it necessary to return home, leaving Mr Scoble to prosecute the remainder of the tour through Holland, alone. He proceeded from Amsterdam to Utrecht, where he had the pleasure of meeting a party of ladies at the house of Madame la Baronne Tuyll, and subsequently, through the kind assistance of Professor Ackersdyke, a party of gentlemen at his hotel. Among those present, besides the professor above named, were Messrs Swellengrebel, Van der Velde, Van Goltstein, Hendriksen, Holtius, jun., and Vreede, who generally expressed themselves the decided friends of abolition.

Thence Mr Scoble proceeded to Groningen, where, warmly seconded by M. Hayunga. formerly chief-justice of Surinam and judge of the Mixed Commission Court, he was enabled to meet Drs De Groot and Pareau, professors of theology; and Dr Star Numan, professor of natural law in the university of that city: and subsequently had a deeply interesting public meeting at the hôtel du Doelen, at which his excellency Baron Rengers, governor of the province presided. There were present at this meeting, Drs H. R. Hayunga and Numan; Dr H. O. Feith, member of the Court of Appeal of the province of Groningen; Dr H. L. Wickers, King's attorney; Dr De Ranits, advocate, and member of the city council; M. Jappé, surveyor of the province; Dr Schneiter, gymnasii rector; Dr Meyer, professor of history; Dr H. Neinhuis, professor of civil law; M. Hencke, teacher of languages; Captain Cool, royal navy; and MM. Van Panhuys, Hurrelbrink, A. Hayunga, and Abarda. The interest taken by these gentlemen in the matters submitted to their consideration was of the liveliest kind; and there can be no doubt that Groningen will be second to no city in Holland, in its efforts for the abolition of slavery.

With scarcely an exception, the deputation found much to encourage them in their public efforts in every city they visited; and in their private intercourse with individuals they were gratified in observing that the principles they advocated were generally admitted. They, however, found that the principal difficulties urged against the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch colonies were, the impossibility of finding public funds to indemnify the planters for the loss of their slaves; and the necessity of preparatory measures for raising them from their present state of moral degradation. To these difficulties the deputation opposed the following considerations:—First, that if the question of compensation could be entertained at all, it ought to be considered entirely apart from that of abolition, as it was admitted to be both inhuman and unjust to hold men in bondage; and secondly, that the fitness of men for freedom did not consist in any culture that could be given them as slaves, but in their ability to take care of themselves, which it was admitted they could do.

In returning to Rotterdam, Mr Scoble had an opportunity of again seeing many of the friends of the abolition cause in the various towns through which he passed, to whom he imparted the results of his tour; and concluded his visit to Holland by a satisfactory public meeting in that city.

It is due to M. I. F. de Neufville of Amsterdam, and M. Ouwerkerk de Vrees of Ziest, to say that they have produced two excellent pamphlets on the emancipation of slaves in the British, and on the condition of slaves in the Dutch colonies, and suggesting measures for their deliverance from bondage also.

The deputation are firmly convinced that when once the question of abolition shall have taken hold of the public mind in Holland, the doom of slavery is sealed. It is, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance that no occasion should be lost of enlightening the people, and of bringing under the consideration of the legislature this most important subject.

No. XXII.

DEPUTATION TO FRANCE.

The French society for the abolition of slavery having invited a deputation from the various anti-slavery associations in this country to attend a public meeting to be held at the Hotel de Ville, Paris, on Monday, the 7th of March, 1842, for the purpose of deliberating on the best means of abolishing slavery in the French colonies, and throughout the world, the following deputies were appointed:—for the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, Josiah Forster, Joseph Sturge, G. W. Alexander, J. Scoble, and J. H. Hinton; for Bath, W. Blair, and C. Stuart; for the Birmingham Anti-slavery Society, J. Sturge; for Bristol, R. Fry; for Devonshire, J. Scoble; for Dublin, D. O'Connell, R. R. Madden, M.D., and C. Cockran; for East Suffolk, H. Taylor; for Edinburgh, J. Dunlop; for Glasgow, A. Harvey; for Hitchin, J. Forster; for Leeds, T. Scales; for Liverpool, E. Cropper; for Oxford, B. Godwin; for Rochester, F. Wheeler; for Southampton, J. Clarke, Sen., J. Clarke, Jun., and E. Palk; for Woburn, B. Wiffen.

Of these the only persons absent were Messrs O'Connell, Blair, and Fry, the last being detained by ill health.

It was not until their arrival in Paris that it became known to any of the deputies that the French government had interposed. Under these new circumstances it was their unanimous sentiment to place themselves in the hands of their French friends, with a readiness to act precisely in such a manner as might appear to them most conducive to the good of the cause which all had at heart, and not without hope that their visit might yet be productive of equal or greater benefit. In the forenoon of Saturday the deputies who had arrived had a visit from M. Isambert, the secretary of the French society, who gave them a most cordial reception, and invited the whole body to dine with him in the evening. On this occasion the general sentiments of the deputies were freely expressed by Messrs Forster, Sturge, Scoble, and others, and were cordially responded to by M. Isambert. In turn he gave a full explanation of the circumstances which had arisen, and stated that the French society were to meet on the following day, to determine on the course which they should pursue.

On Monday morning the deputies met for consultation. At this meeting it was proposed, and ultimately agreed to, that, as there would be no public assembly, an address should be prepared with a view to publication, briefly recording, in an official form, the sentiments they would have desired to express. A document of this kind was prepared, and left in the hands of the French society, in order that such use of it might be made as should seem most expedient.

At this time it was announced that, at their sitting of the previous day, the French society had agreed on an answer to the letter of the Minister of the Interior on the subject of the public meeting; and had resolved both to receive the deputation officially at a private meeting on Wednesday morning, and to entertain them at dinner on the evening of the same day. The two documents to which we have just referred we shall here

present to our readers, as putting them into possession of the whole case. The letter of the Minister of the Interior is as follows :—

Paris, Office of the Minister of the Interior, March 1st, 1842.

Monsieur le Duc,—I am informed that the society for the abolition of slavery, of which you are the president, proposes to hold a public session on the 7th of this month, to which some foreign deputations will be admitted. The government does full justice to the honourable motives of the society; it appreciates the work of humanity which it seeks to accomplish, and in which it has declared itself disposed to co-operate: but, after the reports which have reached me, I fear that this meeting, under present circumstances, may be attended with some inconvenience, and may lead, perhaps, to results very different to those which the members of the society desire to obtain. You will, I hope, Monsieur le Duc, agree with me that it will be expedient to postpone the proposed meeting. I desire also to believe that the society will see in this communication only a measure of prudence. No feeling of mistrust of its intentions enters into the thoughts of the government. Accept the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Duchatel, Minister of the Interior.

Certified copy of the original deposited in the archives of the society.
Isambert, Secretary.

In reply, the society addressed to the Minister of the Interior the following minute :—

Sitting of the 6th of March, 1842.

The society, having received from its president the letter of the Minister of the Interior, under date of the 1st of March, relative to the postponement of the public meeting announced for the 7th instant, has adopted the following resolution.

The society is assured that the measure of police which has been notified to it has been dictated neither by the nature of the object which it proposes to attain—since the minister, in his letter, denominates it a work of humanity, and announces that the government is disposed to co-operate in it—nor by the intentions which have suggested the proposed meeting, since the minister renders ample justice to these intentions.

It has remarked that the only motive alleged by the minister for the adjournment is the fear, that, under existing circumstances, the meeting to which the foreign deputations were invited may give rise to inconveniences, and lead to results contrary to those which the society itself desires to obtain.

Under these circumstances, the society declares that it has not either to scrutinise or to discuss the motive of the measure which has been communicated to it. It is no judge of the necessities of police which have dictated it. It can only submit to the injunction which has been laid on it.

It hopes that the foreign deputations which it had invited, and who have not hesitated to respond to the appeal which it made them in the name of religion and humanity, will readily excuse it for not having been able to foresee such an emergency, and accept its lively expressions of regret.

If, however, from the measure of adjournment to which the society is obliged to submit, it should be concluded that the great and sacred cause of the abolition of slavery has not the warm and general sympathy of the population, the society would feel it its duty loudly to protest against such an inference, equally contrary to truth and to the honour of the country.

The society knows that the sentiments which animated France half a

century since, and which inspired the founders of our liberties, have not changed. The profound conviction which the society has of the permanency of these sentiments is the source both of its energy and its hope.

It affirms that the responsibility of the unexpected prohibition which prevents it from rendering a solemn account of its labours and prospects in a public meeting, must be confined to a few interested parties who think themselves threatened; and that no blame whatever can be justly attached to the population, in the midst of whom this demonstration was to have taken place.

Certified copy of the minute,

ISAMBERT, Secretary of the Society.

On Tuesday evening the deputation had a twofold engagement. A portion of them were entertained by the Duke de Broglie, the president of the French abolition society; and had the pleasure of meeting M. de Villemain, minister of public instruction; Baron Rossi, peer of France; M. Passy, &c., &c. At a later hour the whole deputation assembled at a soiree at the house of M. Lutteroth, one of the members of the society, where they met many other persons of distinction.

The meeting of the society was held, according to appointment, on Wednesday morning at eleven, the Duke de Broglie occupying the chair until one (when his attendance was required in the chamber of Peers), and afterwards M. Passy. The entire British deputation was present; as were also Count Frolich, a member of the Swedish diet, and M. de Tourguenoff, a former minister of the Emperor Alexander, who, with his brother, had come to concert a plan for the emancipation of the Russian serfs, and who has himself offered to emancipate three hundred peasants. The attendance of the society was very numerous.

After the introduction of the British deputies by name, Mr Forster said that they had cheerfully responded to the invitation of their Paris friends; that no commercial motives influenced them; that the principles of the British and Foreign Society were solely of a moral, pacific, and religious character; that they meddled not with the right of search, which was a question between governments; that they struck at the root of the evil by aiming at the abolition of slavery, that so the slave-trade might cease. The deputation called upon France to unite with them, desiring that, in this labour of love, they might act as one body, without any national distinction; and under a conviction that, if this were done, it would have a powerful effect upon Spain, Holland, the United States, &c.; and not only so, but that this measure would re-act upon France, and, by an act of national humanity and justice, elevate the moral character of their own people. He went on to say that God had made of one blood all nations of men; that Christ had died for all men; that these religious principles actuated his countrymen; and that, as soon as men should act upon the divine law, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," slavery must cease for ever.

M. Passy said, No one in France either can, or does, suspect the honourable motives which animate the English delegates. The feeling which animates the abolition societies of the two nations develops itself more and more; the spirit which has produced them will survive them; it will survive the object to which the members of these societies have devoted themselves. The English abolitionists have urged, carried along, subjugated the will of their government; they have made it associate the interests of morality with political interests; but this victory has not satisfied them. The abolition of slavery in the English colonies has been, in their eyes, only the first step towards the complete emancipation of the human race.

They pursue this object; they wish that throughout the entire world man should enjoy the chief good, liberty—that in no part man should be the property of man; and their persevering efforts bear witness to their courage and their hopes. We also shall soon, without doubt, attain the end which has already been attained by others; but the spirit of co-operation which will have produced this happy result will lead us to new exertions in favour of the classes who toil and suffer. It is thus that the feeling which has generated abolition societies will perpetuate itself, and will be able everywhere to prepare for the human race a better destiny.

The documents borne by the deputies were then presented; one of which, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society—a letter from Thomas Clarkson—was read to the assembly, and rendered into French by the Duke de Broglie. He referred in the course of his letter to his friendship with Larochefocauld-Liancourt, Condorcet, Lafayette, and Petion; and to his visit to France in 1789. He added that, having survived Wilberforce, he hoped before he died to see slavery abolished in the colonies of France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

M. Frolich then rose, and read a paper on the subject of the attempts made to procure the abolition of slavery in the Swedish island of St Bartholomew.

The other British deputies proceeded to hand in their respective documents, in doing which some remarks were made by Mr Dunlop of Edinburgh, the Rev. A. Harvey of Glasgow, and Dr Madden of Dublin.

The Rev. A. Harvey, deputy from Glasgow, adverted to that city having been, at one time, deeply implicated in the support of slavery by its connexion with the West Indies, and to the difficulties the abolitionists had there to contend with; adding that, when they once saw the sinfulness of slavery in the sight of God, they had not been behind any in efforts to put it down.

Dr Madden said he was charged with an expression of the regret of Daniel O'Connell at not being able to attend the meeting, as he had intended; which he the more particularly lamented, as he had desired to take some steps towards engaging the French clergy, and especially the Archbishop of Paris, to second the cause of emancipation. In the opinion of Mr O'Connell the influence of the catholic clergy would be all-powerful, if they would unite their efforts to those of the political men who did themselves honour by labouring in such a cause.

Dr Madden stated also some facts which he had ascertained from personal observation, respecting the slave-trade and slavery as existing in the French colonies on the coast of Africa. This address also was rendered into French by the Duke de Broglie, who took the opportunity of saying that the slave-trading to which Dr Madden had referred had been disapproved by the government, and would not be repeated.

Mr Sturge thought that the example of France would be even more influential with the United States than that of England. From personal observation, he considered that the American people had a jealousy of England, which they did not entertain respecting France. Having also visited the West Indies during the period of the apprenticeship, he could bear a further personal testimony to the fact of its entire failure. He hoped no similar experiment would be made by France.

Mr Scoble then rose, and spoke particularly of the results of emancipation in the English colonies. These results have equalled the most sanguine expectations of the abolitionists. It had been proved that no planter had suffered from the vengeance of the blacks. Insurrections, formerly so frequent, have ceased. At present a moiety of the troops formerly necessary is sufficient to insure the tranquillity of the colonies, and the security

of their inhabitants. The value of property has increased; labour is more easily obtained, and in greater abundance. Where the planters have acted towards the blacks with liberality, and are interested in their well-being, the estates are cultivated 20 or 25 per cent cheaper than in the time of slavery. The proprietors have then gained in every way. With respect to the slaves, they have not merely been liberated. Those who procured them their liberty have occupied themselves with the means of elevating them from the state of physical and moral degradation in which the tyranny of their masters too often retained them. The blacks themselves have seconded, to the best of their ability, the efforts of their benefactors. During the period of slavery these poor creatures often deserted, and fled amidst a thousand dangers; now they devote themselves to their labour, and attach themselves to their habitations. The negroes are daily casting away vices inherent in slavery; they themselves unite in the work of their moral regeneration. They have a desire to possess property, and have bought a large quantity of land. In Demerara they have purchased no less than 500 lots of land, for which they have paid £21,000 sterling. They are frugal, and have for the most part money in the savings' bank. At the same time the commercial prosperity of the colonies is incontestably increased. The greatest part of the estates which had been abandoned for want of labourers are now cultivated. The imports have, generally speaking, augmented one-third; they have increased in the last five years three millions sterling; and thus the commerce of Great Britain has participated in the benefit of emancipation. In a single commodity, sugar, there has been a diminution in the exports; this diminution is temporary; it is owing on the one hand to two years of drought, and on the other to reasons which can occasion no regret. In the time of slavery the women were employed in the painful culture of the cane; with or against their will, they must labour; the whip was ready to give them either courage or cheerfulness. Even their children were forced to dig the earth by their side. At present they are deprived of this resource; there are fewer hands tied to the hoe, and there is less produce. The women, now free, devote themselves to the care of the house, and of the family who have been born to them; they occupy themselves in the education of the children, whom they no longer rear for the market. Those who, even at the age of ten or eleven, were formerly employed in most severe tasks, are now sent to the schools, where lessons of order and morality are inculcated on them. These facts are of a nature to rejoice all the friends of emancipation; they are attested by witnesses the most unexceptionable; the planters themselves, whom Mr Scoble had visited, have not hesitated to acknowledge the happy results of free labour. There are those, even, who, without the indemnity which they have received, would still regard as a benefit the change in the condition of their former slaves. The speaker concluded by proposing some questions on the subject of the abolition of slavery in France—on the hopes entertained by its advocates—on the obstacles which it may have to encounter—and on the relation borne to it by the domestic manufacture of sugar from beet-root.

The address of Mr Scoble evidently excited great attention, and was immediately rendered into French by M. Passy with great accuracy and felicity. M. Passy then immediately proceeded to answer the questions which had been proposed, a task which no one could have undertaken with more force or authority. In France, said he, the affairs of the colonies engage but little attention; the greater number of persons are unacquainted with what relates to them, and the care of them is left almost entirely to the local administration, under the control of official men. Slavery itself does not hold so prominent a place as it ought in public

opinion. Its mischievous and melancholy effects are remote, are but little known, and do not excite that attention which they deserve. It is, therefore, by the government that the cause of emancipation must be pleaded and defended. Founded only in 1833, the abolition society has already obtained important advantages; composed chiefly of members of the two chambers, it has promptly acquired a considerable influence. Two legislative propositions have emanated from it, the principal object of which was to explain and familiarise its sentiments by discussion. The result answered their expectation: the government has subsequently formed, for inquiry into colonial legislation, a commission, on which it has placed many members of the society, and the superintendence of which it has confided to their president himself. This commission had suspended but has resumed its labours, of which the conclusion will be the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies. We are allowed to hope that, in the next session, the chambers will be engaged by the government itself on this great question, and that human liberty will find in the midst of them numerous and eloquent defenders.

After the speech of M. Passy, Mr G. W. Alexander, the treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, addressed the meeting, expressing his earnest hope that the cause of abolition would be pursued with a degree of vigour, animated by the remembrance of the incalculable miseries which were suffered every day during its progress.

The meeting was concluded by a short address from M. Odillon Barrot, a vice-president of the French society, in which he said that the question of abolition was to be regarded as either theoretical or practical—as one of principle, or as one of means of execution. As a question of principle it had been already decided. Slavery was to be abolished. As a practical question it was now lying in the hands of the government, whose business it was to devise the means of its execution. He added some remarks on the position of the catholic clergy; and closed by saying, with much animation, that it would be a glorious day for the world when there should no longer be a slave in it.

In the evening there sat down to dinner about eighty gentlemen, M. Passy, vice-president of the society, being in the chair. After dinner, M. Passy, in a few words, expressed to the British deputies the cordiality with which they were received in Paris, as coadjutors in the great cause of human freedom, and then called on Mr Scoble to address the assembly on behalf of the deputation.

Mr Scoble spoke at considerable length, and was heard with great interest. He was followed by M. M. Lamartine and Odillon Barrot.

On Thursday morning, the deputation had the pleasure of breakfasting with nearly thirty gentlemen of colour, resident in Paris, whom they had invited for this purpose to their hotel. In this company were included M. M. L'Instant, of Hayti; Schœlcher, from Martinique; Bissette, editor of the *Revue des Colonies*; the Abbé Goujon, from Martinique; the Abbé Angelique, about to go to that island; together with several young men from various parts of the West Indies, pursuing their studies at the Polytechnic School at Paris with a view to return. Several of these friends expressed their sentiments after breakfast in a very pleasing manner; and some gave, from personal knowledge, a most melancholy account of slavery in the French colonies, especially in Cayenne. On the whole, the deputies were much interested with this interview; and regarded with much gratification the pledges it afforded of the approaching elevation of the whole coloured race.

In the evening a portion of the deputies dined with M. Guizot, the mi-

nister of foreign affairs, and they cannot but acknowledge the frank and cordial courtesy they received.

The above narrative will, we trust, afford information to our friends generally, and secure for the deputation the approbation of those on whose behalf they acted. At Paris they were placed in delicate circumstances, in which it might have been easy to do mischief; and the caution by which this has been happily avoided can scarcely be without its advantages. Disappointed of the public meeting which they had been invited to attend, they did their utmost to promote, by such means as were left to them, the great cause to which they were devoted. In the acceptance of the personal courtesies which were heaped upon them, they did not forget their grand object. Everywhere the anti-slavery cause was with them a prominent topic of conversation; and the free intercourse, of which they had copious opportunities with so many men of distinction in France, must have effectively tended to propagate the views entertained on this side of the channel; and to increase the amount, already very considerable, of moral and generous feeling, by which the great measure of abolition will finally be carried through.

At the same time, the journey of twenty gentlemen to Paris on such an object, from various and distant parts of Great Britain and Ireland, must be a demonstration to France of the deep interest felt in this country on the subject of emancipation; and to French abolitionists, in particular, of the great importance which is attached to their proceedings. They will not fail to be convinced by it, how earnest our hopes and expectations are, not merely that slavery in the French colonies shall be abolished, but that it shall be abolished in a manner so speedy, and on principles so just, that an example shall thus be given to the nations, and an impulse to the cause, which neither the love of power nor the lust of gain shall be able to resist. No nation can have a nobler calling than France has at this moment. And we have but one desire for her—it is, that she may prove herself worthy of it.

After the general departure of the deputation for England, Messrs Alexander and Wiffen proceeded to Spain for the purpose of promoting the cause of abolition in that country; and Mr Scoble remained in Paris, in anticipation of an interview with his Majesty the King of the French, to present the volume containing the record of the proceedings of the great Anti-slavery Convention held in London, in June, 1840. During the period he thus waited, he was favoured with interviews, among others, with the Abbés de Samennais and Fayet, both of whom he found much interested in the anti-slavery cause. He had the great satisfaction also of a long conversation with M. Arago, whose enlightened opinions in the cause of human liberty are not exceeded by his noble achievements in science. Mr Scoble's interview with the King of the French gave him the opportunity, not merely of presenting the volume to which reference has been made, but of meeting the various objections which were started to the immediate and complete emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies, and of respectfully and earnestly pressing upon his Majesty the great duty of delivering every portion of the French empire from the curse and degradation of slavery.

No. XXIII.

DEPUTATION TO SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

On the return of Messrs G. W. Alexander and B. Wiffen from their former journey to Spain, they had met with warm and intelligent friends of the slave at Toulouse and Montauban, in the south of France. Among

these, there may be mentioned MM. Courtois, brothers, bankers at the former place; and pastors Felice and Monod, residing at the latter. They availed themselves of the opportunity afforded of again visiting these places on their way to the eastern part of Spain. It was cheering to them to find that the interest which had been manifested by those whom they had the pleasure of meeting on a former occasion, was still felt, and had perhaps been increased by a more intimate knowledge of the subject of slavery, obtained through the medium of various publications which had been supplied to them. We may here express our desire, that the leaders of the anti-slavery cause in France, who complain of the want of interest felt in this question in that country, would adopt some means of diffusing there, much more generally than has yet been done, a knowledge of the horrors of slavery. If these steps were taken, we cannot but believe that the enlightened and humane public of France would be no longer liable to so great a reproach, as is involved in the charge of an indifference to the intolerable wrongs of more than 250,000 of their unoffending fellow subjects held in bondage in distant colonies.

The first place which our friends visited in Spain, was Barcelona. They were glad to find that in this important town, there are persons who remain earnestly desirous that the cruelties and iniquities involved in the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade in the colonies of Spain, should be terminated. They hope that measures will be taken to spread these just and humane sentiments, notwithstanding the adverse influence and efforts of slave-traders and slave-owners, in a town which is more largely connected with Cuba by commercial relations than any other in the peninsula. Within a few months past, an address has been presented by the Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona, to the government of Spain, praying for the continuance of slavery in the West Indian possessions of that country. This address has been prepared in conformity with a request forwarded from the Havana. It may not be improper to remark here, that addresses of the same description and origin have been presented from similar bodies in some other towns. We believe that the active members of the associations, designated by the imposing name of Chambers of Commerce, consist generally of a small number of individuals. It might be worth while to inquire what portion of those who have signed these disgraceful documents are slave-traders or slave-holders, or, by commercial or other relations, are induced thus to lend themselves to the continuance of the dreadful system of negro bondage. Some copies of the French edition of J. J. Gurney's "Winter in the West Indies," and a few other publications, were distributed before leaving Barcelona.

At Madrid, where the deputation stayed about two weeks, they made calls on various influential persons, and were glad to find that several of those whom they had the pleasure of seeing on a former occasion, were still zealously affected in the cause of abolition. They believe that anti-slavery principles are gaining ground among intelligent and liberal persons in the capital of Spain, notwithstanding the efforts of the interested apologists of slavery, and the unfounded fears which they endeavour, not wholly without success, to excite in the community. It is a painful circumstance, and one which reflects dishonour on the public press of Madrid, that newspapers generally are unwilling to admit any articles in favour of the righteous claims of the slave. It is surely no mean argument for the justice of a cause, when such means are resorted to in order to prevent its triumph. Truth does not fear, but courts discussion, when fairly conducted, because its claims will thus become more apparent. Error and wickedness, on the other hand, shun this ordeal, and seek their appropriate refuge in ignorance, or the sophistries which they weave to conceal

their hateful deformity. Two modern apologies for slavery in the Spanish colonies have recently appeared, one entitled, "Memoria sobre la esclavitud," by Marina Torrentes; the other, "Los Esclavos in las Colonias Espanolas," by the Countess Merlin. The latter is a translation from an article which originally appeared in the "Revue de Deux Mondes," a French periodical.

Neither of these pamphlets are calculated to inflict injury on the cause which they have ventured to attack, when read by persons having a moderate knowledge of the subject of which they treat. It is, however, desirable for the sake of the less informed and unreflecting, that the serious inaccuracies which they contain, and their fallacious reasoning, should be exposed. Some very important admissions are made, among which are two which occur in the work of the female writer, who, we understand, is a Creole. One of these is the dreadful fact of an excess of ten per cent in the number of deaths over births, in the slave population of Cuba. This destruction of human life is attributed, to a considerable extent, to the deaths which occur among those who are recently imported from Africa; but how easy is it to see, that the existence of slavery, with its effect in keeping down the number of the wretched bondsmen by its severities and demoralisation, is a constant incentive to this importation. It is also allowed that there is little inducement to form marriages, owing to the liability of husband and wife, and parents and children, to be separated, and that little is done to discourage the prevailing licentiousness; yet a female does not blush to advocate the continuance of this murderous, immoral, and unnatural system! The only palliation that we can find for such sentiments is, that the writer has been exposed to that deplorable influence upon the heart and character which arises from living in a slave country, and which appears to be scarcely less fatal to humanity and virtue on the part of the oppressor, than to life on that of the oppressed. In the work of Torrentes, who is a member of the Spanish Cortes, the desire of a great majority of the inhabitants of Cuba, that the slave-trade should be continued, is frankly acknowledged, and an attempt is made to palliate or to defend this horrid traffic. We are glad to learn that Torrentes' book is likely to have a reply from one of his countrymen.

In the above paragraph it will be seen that the words, "inhabitants of Cuba" (Cubanos), refers only to the free part of the population. How unworthy are persons holding such sentiments of the name of freemen, or of the liberty which they possess!

It is highly desirable that pains should be taken to circulate extensively, correct information of the true character of slavery and the actual results of emancipation, in Madrid and throughout Spain. Impressed with the importance of these objects, the deputation gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of putting into circulation, in the capital of Spain and elsewhere, Dr Madden's address to the Anti-slavery Convention, which has been translated into the Spanish language, and J. J. Gurney's "Winter in the West Indies," already noticed. They hope that these works, and others of a similar tendency, will be more generally placed in the hands of persons who, from their character, may be likely to take an interest in the abolition cause, and especially those of this description whose position in society may qualify them to render it important service. There is reason to believe that attention to this subject will not be wholly neglected. Before leaving Madrid, the deputation sought, through A. Aston, Esq., the British ambassador, an audience with the Regent of Spain. The request was graciously granted, and, on this occasion, they represented to the Regent the deep interest which they, in common with the numerous friends of the negro in England, felt in

the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the colonies of Spain. They also stated their conviction that the termination of slavery was the only measure that could be relied upon to terminate the traffic in the persons of their fellow-men, and that this measure was no less in accordance with sound policy than the requirements of humanity and justice. They represented to the distinguished person they were permitted to address their conviction that, by conferring liberty on the slaves, this large portion of the population of the Spanish West Indies would, in the most effectual manner, be attached to the parent state, and the peace and lasting welfare of these valuable possessions greatly augmented.

The deputation cherish the hope that their appeal to the humane and enlightened sentiments of the Regent of Spain will not be unproductive of benefit. At the same time they are aware that the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, in countries in which these evils exist, requires a decision and firmness which has seldom been found in rulers, unless powerfully supported by the virtuous portion of their subjects, owing to the influence of slave-holders strenuously directed to prevent the removal of those wrongs and cruelties to which they have been accustomed.

At Seville, the deputation made several calls, and were obligingly permitted to meet at the office of the *Sevillano* (a daily paper published at Seville), for the purpose of an exchange of sentiment with some friends of the editor, and a few other persons. On this occasion the necessity and duty of the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery in the colonies of Spain were strongly stated, and approved by some who were present. A larger number were apparently opposed to the abolition of slavery, and many objections to such a proceeding were advanced. The time occupied in making these objections was so considerable as to afford scarcely any opportunity for a reply. Mr Alexander, therefore, after his return to England, prepared a full answer to these objections, which was published in the columns of *Sevillano.* The deputation felt much obliged by the courtesy shown them by the editor of this paper, and cannot doubt that the cause of truth and justice will be promoted by the examination of the subject, if both parties engaged in it are fully and fairly heard. While at Seville, they had the satisfaction of an interview with the aged Bishop elect of Cordova, resident there. They were glad to find in the bishop a decided friend of the negro, and one who had manifestly devoted considerable attention to the subject of emancipation. He had been a member of a commission appointed by the government of Spain about ten years since, at the suggestion of that of England, to consider the practicability and means of effecting the abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies. This commission appears to have produced no other fruit than that of increasing the knowledge of the bishop, with whose conversation our friends were much delighted, on the subject which had been thus particularly brought under his notice. That the commission did not take any effectual steps towards the promotion of the object to which its consideration was directed, appears to have been owing to the injurious influence of a rich slave-holder. It is a singular practice on the part of governments, in considering the subject of the abolition of slavery, to attach considerable weight to the opinions of slave-holders, although these persons are, on such occasions, judges in their own case, and, like all other individuals in similar circumstances, cannot be regarded as impartial. There is another reason why they should be listened to with much distrust. They are universally persons chargeable with moral delinquency, in withholding from their labourers the just reward of their toil; and, in a vast number of instances, they are offenders against the laws of the land, in

their conduct towards their slaves, and by the encouragement of slave-trading.

At Cadiz a similar opportunity was afforded to that which had occurred at Seville, of pleading the cause of the negro. This took place in the presence of about twelve persons, including some female friends, at the residence of Senor Llorente, the editor of the *Globe*, a newspaper published at Cadiz. On this occasion the greatest urbanity and kindness was manifested towards them, and they believe that some good has resulted from the conference which took place. The books which were distributed will also, it is hoped, serve to promote and deepen an interest in the anti-slavery cause.

The deputation now embarked for Lisbon, where, through the courtesy of Lord Howard de Walden, they were favoured with an opportunity of seeing the Duke of Terceira, and the other ministers of the crown in that country, together with several of the distinguished individuals who have formerly occupied those offices, including the Duke of Palmella, the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, Rodrigo da Fonseca Magilhaens, and Silva Carvalho. In a similar way they obtained an audience with the patriarch of the Roman catholic church at Lisbon, the nuncio of the Pope, and the Queen's almoner. In the course of the interviews thus obtained they were truly gratified to find that the impolicy and cruelty of the slave-trade and slavery were to a great extent admitted, especially in reference to the existence of these great evils in the foreign possessions of Portugal, in Africa, and the East. It was also stated by the various members of the government that their anxious and energetic endeavours are, and have been, directed to the suppression of the slave-trade, and that many instances have occurred of slavers having been captured by Portuguese vessels of war. They were gratified in hearing from several of the eminent and enlightened persons on whom they called, an avowal of the conviction that the only way in which the slave-trade can be effectually destroyed is the abolition of slavery; because they hope that as this just conviction is more generally felt it will increase the interest which already exists in the termination of slavery, and add to the energy of those efforts which are at present made for this humane and righteous object. The deputation were cheered in finding that the Viscount Sa de Bandeira not only possessed a considerable knowledge of the anti-slavery question, and was in possession of various English publications on this subject, including the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, which he is in the habit of receiving, but that he intends to introduce in the legislature of Portugal a measure for the abolition of slavery in the possessions of that country in India. Before their departure from Lisbon they had the high gratification of an interview with Count Lavradia, a member of the upper house of the Portuguese legislature, who received them with great kindness and cordiality, and expressed a deep interest in the objects of their visit to Portugal. Count Lavradia stated that he had from a very early period of his life entertained anti-slavery sentiments, and that he had felt, and still feels, a deep interest in the promulgation of Christian truth in Africa. This interest in the welfare of the unhappy descendants of that continent had induced him to study one of their languages; but his hope of being able to adopt measures for their improvement had been rendered abortive by the insuperable difficulties and dangers in carrying out such an object, resulting from the prevalence of the slave-trade. The Count informed them that he had been in Brazil in early life, where he had an opportunity of seeing the impolitic character of slavery as well as its injustice. He stated that the Portuguese laws in reference to slavery were more mild than those of Spain, but that they were not sufficient to protect the slave, because the leaning of the judge was generally or always in

favour of the master; a just description of that which takes place in all slave countries, and the mockery of justice where these helpless bondsmen are concerned. The deputation received much attention and kindness from several of their countrymen, who, as in other lands, were found to sympathise in efforts made to promote the termination of those atrocities which had been too long countenanced by their own government. Among those from whom they received much attention and assistance they feel it due to mention Henry Southern, Esq., the secretary of the British legation at Lisbon; William Payant, Esq.; and Dr Lovell.

On a review of their proceedings, the deputation feel much satisfaction in the endeavour they have made to promote, in the countries they have visited, the carrying out of those great principles of humanity and justice which are promulgated in the gospel of Christ; and the fulfilment of which, universally and entirely, they believe to be absolutely necessary to the true happiness and welfare alike of individuals and of states.

No. XXIV.

SWEDISH SLAVERY.

The following paper was read by Count Frolich at the meeting of the French Anti-slavery Society, at which the British deputation attended:—

The little island of St Bartholomew, being the only colony which belongs to Sweden, the subject of slavery in it offers but a small circle to the moral or political activity of the Swedes; but a particular circumstance has rendered it still more contracted.

In 1812, the government then being of opinion that the small ultramarine possession in question would be more profitably administered for the state if it had no connexion with the newly-established constitutional legislation, the general states were persuaded to confer the whole administration on the Prince Royal, with the sole condition, that no debt eventually contracted during this administration should be transferable to the charge of the state.

The Prince Royal, since become king, has not to the present day proposed to the states any change in the arrangement then concluded. And, as the administration has always continued, in some sort, for the private salary of his Majesty, although rightfully the colony belongs to the state, no official report has ever been given since that time, either to the general states or to the public, concerning the situation of things in St Bartholomew's in any particular. It is very rarely that either in the Swedish or foreign journals any notice is taken of it; and, in consequence, when, about two or three years since, there appeared in an English journal an accusation directed against Sweden, that an atrocious circumstance had taken place off the coast of St Bart's, from which, if true, one might have suspected that the trade in negroes was yet carried on by the colonists, the public in Sweden, and even the representatives at the diet, which assembled a short time after, seemed to be almost ignorant of the existence of slavery in the colony —a cruel infliction and repugnant to the national spirit, and moreover absolutely incompatible with our laws, our manners, and our liberal constitution.

The report spread abroad relative to the trading of negroes was subsequently found to be entirely false. Nevertheless, public feeling was awakened; and during these transactions a society, of which I have the honour to be a member, was formed at Stockholm, for the abolition of slavery.

The society has had but one meeting, under the presidency of Mr Geijer, our celebrated historian. It was then found that a motion had

been made by a member of one of the chambers, having in view a petition to be addressed to the king, and that that petition should be referred to a committee for discussion. It was then thought most expedient to abstain from all sorts of a public demonstration of the sentiments of the society; as at the time it was generally known that there was a considerable deficiency in the funds of the colony. The motion for the petition was also, if I am not mistaken, rejected from the same motive. In short, in the present circumstances, there is every reason to believe that the Swedish society do not find it expedient to agitate the question of the abolition of slavery. Exact information on the actual state of the colony is also so difficult to be found in Sweden, that it was not until after my arrival at Paris, that by chance I came to be acquainted with anything of the matter.

No. XXV.

AFRICA AND ASIA.

TUNIS.

Extract of a despatch from Sir Thomas Reade to Viscount Palmerston.

Tunis, April 30, 1841.

My Lord,

I have long been seeking a favourable opportunity to converse with his Highness the Bey upon the subject of slavery existing in this Regency, in order to induce him to put some sort of check upon it, however trifling in the first instance; and I have used every possible influence which I possess with the principal Moors about the Bey to persuade them to render me some assistance in the object I had in view; but seeing all my exertions thrown away in my recourse to these Moors, and finding yesterday a good opening for mentioning the subject myself personally to his Highness, I did not fail to avail myself of it.

I explained to his Highness that most of the European powers had come to a fixed resolution to omit no means or efforts to put a final stop to the infamous traffic of dealing in slaves; and I was proud to say that Great Britain had ever been the foremost to bring about this most humane and desirable object, to obtain which she had made greater sacrifices than any other nation.

I stated to his Highness that it was a subject of the deepest regret to my government to find that such facilities had hitherto existed in transporting slaves from this regency to the other Turkish possessions; and I ventured to assure his Highness that if he could find any possible method of checking it, it would, I was convinced, be truly gratifying, not only to the British government itself, but to the British nation generally; and it is with the highest satisfaction that I now have the honour to inform your lordship that his Highness, after having listened most attentively to my suggestions, said, "I will immediately comply with your wishes, and do everything in my power to put a stop, not only to the exportation of slaves, but to slavery altogether."

It is impossible for me to express to your lordship the feelings of unbounded gratification which I felt at the moment his Highness replied to me; and in offering my sincere acknowledgments to him for the prompt and noble manner in which he had met my views, I assured him that I could likewise venture to offer to him, in anticipation, the same feelings of satisfaction on the part of your lordship.

After leaving the palace of the Bey, I had not returned to my house more than two hours, when I received a letter from his Highness on the subject; and I beg leave to inclose a copy of it, with its translation, as well as a copy of my answer in acknowledging the receipt of it.

The Bey of Tunis to Sir Thomas Reade.

On the part of the servant of God, Ahmed Bassa Bey, Prince of the Government of Tunis, to our ally Sir Thomas Reade, her Britannic Majesty's Consul-general at Tunis.

After the conversation we have had on the subject of the shipment of negro slaves for purposes of commerce, we must acquaint you, O friend, that the sacred principles of creation are repugnant to it, and our heart throbs with pity whenever we hear mention made of it.

As for ourselves individually, we have not a single slave, according to the law relative to the servitude of slaves, who are purchased and sold as if they were animals, because in our religion the restrictions on the subject are so severe that it is very difficult to preserve the conditions.

We are of the number of those who admire the opinions of the English government relative to this subject; and ours are in accordance with those of our friend, the perfect, the politician, and minister, Lord Palmerston; and I look upon them as an effect of his perfection, and the goodness of his principles.

We, therefore, from the present time, prohibit the exportation of slaves from our regency for the purposes of commerce.

We will direct our attention to the means of enfeebling this commerce to the utmost limits of our efforts, and pray God to extirpate it from the world.

We trust that God, who created us and them, and who bestowed the gift of judgment upon all, will reward us for it. We desire you will communicate to our friend, the above-named minister, the contents of this letter.

Continue in the belief of God.

Written on the 9th of Rabih, 1257.
(*29th of April*, 1841.)

Sir Thomas Reade to the Bey of Tunis.

Tunis, April 30, 1841.

Your Highness,—Few events of my life have inspired me with a joy equal to what I felt on the receipt of the letter with which your Highness honoured me, dated yesterday, and I know of nothing that can reflect so much glory upon your name as the sentiments therein expressed.

The promptness with which your Highness embraced the idea of prohibiting the exportation of slaves from your regency is worthy of the goodness of your heart, and of being recorded in the best pages of history; it agrees with my notions respecting your character, and proves how much your spirit is superior to the elements over which you reign.

May your Highness ever promote the happiness of your people, complete all the improvements you have in view, and finally follow the impulse of your heart, in extirpating from your dominions the trade in the human species.

The admiration of the universe will recompense your Highness for your efforts in the cause of humanity; and the approbation of your conscience will re-echo the gratitude of the world and the blessings of an unhappy race.

Accept, your Highness, in the mean time, my prayers for your rise in a career proportioned to the progress of the world, and worthy of your genius. And until Lord Palmerston shall honour me with his special commands on the subject, permit me, your Highness, to express to you

all the sympathy and esteem which your present measure will add to the friendship her Majesty's government entertains for your Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. READE.

Sir Thomas Reade to Viscount Palmerston.

Tunis, May 12, 1841.

Since my despatch of the 30th ultimo, I have had a conversation with the Chevalier Raffo, and he has assured me that the Bey, according to his promise, has already issued strict orders prohibiting the exportation of slaves from his dominions, and that his Highness has liberated the whole of the slaves of his own establishment. The Chevalier remarked to me, "That this is only the beginning of the affair: you will see that his Highness will keep his word faithfully, and that, if he had it in his power, he would at once liberate every slave in the regency. But unfortunately he is not rich enough to do so. He is determined, however, to put an end to the slave-trade."

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Thomas Reade.

Foreign Office, June 22*nd*, 1841.

Your despatch of the 12th ultimo has been received and laid before the Queen; and I have received her Majesty's commands to desire that you will thank his Highness the Bey of Tunis, in the most handsome terms, for the steps he has taken to abolish slave-trade and slavery within his regency. You will assure the Bey that nothing could tend to interest the English nation in his favour so strongly as a continuance in this course, and as the complete abolition of slavery in the regency of Tunis.

You will state that his Highness may confidently rely upon the friendship and good offices of England, as long as he pursues the wise and prudent course he has hitherto followed.

Extract of a despatch from Sir T. Reade to Viscount Palmerston, dated Tunis, August 10, 1841.

His Highness, upon receiving the communication, appeared to me to be gratified and pleased beyond measure; and, after desiring me to state to your lordship how deeply sensible he was of the condescension of her Majesty, he emphatically remarked, "I have had enormous difficulties to encounter in this affair; I am determined, however, to carry it out to the fullest extent; and I trust that in a very short time you will be enabled to report to your government the result, which I am sure cannot fail to be satisfactory to her Majesty."

Extract of a despatch from Sir T. Reade to Viscount Palmerston, dated Tunis, September 7, 1841.

In reference to my despatch of the 10th of August, I have now the great satisfaction of transmitting herewith the translation of a letter which I received yesterday from his Highness the Bey, by which your lordship will perceive that his Highness has abolished the public slave market, the buildings of which have been pulled down, and also the sale of slaves in any public manner.

This important step, in my opinion, cannot fail to lead, and that in a very short time, to the total and entire destruction of slavery in this regency, in conformity with his Highness's promise.

It is very difficult to describe the sensation which the destruction of the slave market has created in Tunis. The poor slaves are almost frantic with joy; and, although their proprietors seem disposed to remonstrate

with, or in some manner oppose, the Bey, I feel no doubt whatever, from my knowledge of his Highness's firm character, that he will overcome these remonstrances and opposition without much difficulty.

The Bey of Tunis to Sir Thomas Reade.

On the part of God's servant, Ahmed Bassa Bey, &c., &c., &c., to our ally Sir Thomas Reade, Consul-general of the English government at Tunis.

You are aware how painful the trade in the human species was to us, and how contrary it was to our feelings; our pity for the poor slaves has not ceased to excite our solicitude towards weakening that trade, and reducing its weight. We have thought proper to abolish their sale in the market, where the public crier disposed of them as of cattle, in Tunis our capital as well as throughout the regency.

We have ceased to levy the duty which accrued to us on their sale, and have expunged it out of the revenues of our government.

We have written to that effect to all parties in the regency. God knows the state of these poor people when the public crier exposed them for sale in the market!—and that for the sole object of deducting the fixed duties upon their sale, although such a revenue ought to be despised by persons of humane sentiments.

This portion of the human species ought nevertheless to enjoy a greater degree of consideration than other animals! The present shall be, God willing, an occasion for raising them above their unhappy condition of slaves, in all such cases as shall occasion no loss to the capital of their owners, and in a short time the measure shall be complete by the abolition of this species of property throughout the whole of our regency. In the mean time our prohibition of their sale, our sympathy for their condition, and their relief from slavery, will, with God's assistance, further our views. We have acquainted you only with these news, knowing that your feelings accord with ours on this subject.

Continue in the belief of God.

12 *Regeb*, 1257.
(*6th September*, 1841.)

(Slave-trade Papers, Class D, 1841, pp. 90—97.)

A congratulatory address to the Bey of Tunis having been prepared at Malta, and numerously signed by the British residents, officers, and merchants of that island, and other parts of the Mediterranean, Mr Richardson, of Malta, the active promoter of the address, and a warm and zealous friend of the slave, undertook a mission to Tunis for the purpose of presenting it to the Bey. In the course of an interesting interview with which he was honoured, his Highness said, "I began with pleasure the abolition of slavery, and will not cease to prosecute the great work of emancipation, until I have completely extirpated slavery from my dominions."

ADDRESS TO THE BEY OF TUNIS.

May it please your Highness—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have heard with unfeigned satisfaction of the measures which your Highness has adopted for the suppression of the detestable and wicked traffic in negro slaves within the territories subject to your authority.

The great truth, that God hath created all men equal, acknowledged by your Highness and by all civilised princes and people, is consonant alike with the dictates of reason, the decisions of conscience, and the claims of

religion; and is at once the surest foundation and the best guarantee for the liberty and happiness of individuals, and the peace, prosperity, and stability of nations.

To deprive human beings of their liberty, then, is both criminal and impolitic. To restore them to freedom is a duty enforced not less by justice and humanity than by an enlightened policy. May your Highness be led to compassionate the condition of all slaves within your territories, and to set them free; and thus to become an example of wisdom and equity to all rulers on the continent of Africa!

Your Highness is probably aware that the government and people of Great Britain have denounced the slave-trade as a crime of the deepest dye, punishable by the privation of liberty and banishment to a distant part of the empire; and that they have for ever terminated the system of slavery in their colonial dependencies, in different parts of the world, with the happiest results. The abhorrence with which they regard these evils leads them to rejoice in the fact that other nations have either followed or are about to follow their example, and especially to learn that your Highness has commenced this great and good work in the country over which you rule.

This important step the Committee venture to hope will be followed by another still more important, without which they are of opinion your Highness's philanthropic and noble designs cannot be fully consummated—namely, the abolition of slavery itself, the root of the odious and wicked traffic which your Highness is so justly anxious to extirpate.

In conclusion, the Committee express their sincere wish that your Highness may be spared both to perfect the important work which has been so well begun, and to enjoy the blessed fruits thereof to a distant day; to be hailed as the deliverer of the oppressed and the benefactor of your people.

On behalf of the Committee,
THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

27, *New Broad street, London,*
January 7th, 1842.

We are gratified in being able to add to the foregoing interesting documents, the following resolution of the Anglo-Maltese Anti-slavery association, passed on the 24th August of the present year:—"That this meeting sees with unmixed satisfaction and unabated admiration, the continuous efforts of his Highness the Muschir Bashaw, Bey of Tunis, to extirpate, root and branch, slavery and the slave-trade from his dominions; and especially applauds the late decree promulgated by his Highness, to the effect that any foreign slave who should set his foot upon the Tunisian territory should immediately become a freed-man, and be protected as such by all the laws of the country."

TRIPOLI.

Extract of a despatch from Colonel Warrington to Viscount Palmerston.

Tripoli, April 9, 1841.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your lordship that a very large caravan is just arrived in Bengazi, from Wadey, with numerous black slaves.

I am sorry to add that 800 of them perished on the Desert from starvation, not having provided a sufficient supply of provisions for them.

I lament to say that, the demand for slaves being so great, the price of

the survivors covered the great loss by the mortality. Unfortunately the traders in this horrid traffic derive such great profits, which prevent them pursuing a more honourable commerce, thereby injuring the Christian merchants, who are anxious to trade with the interior.

In another letter to Lord Palmerston, dated Tripoli, September 1st, 1841, Colonel Warrington says: "The abolition of slavery, opening commerce with the interior, and the ultimate civilisation of those unfortunate people, appear to be most important objects to attain. Your lordship is aware that the Turks have ruined this country; and the only trade, I may say, carried on with the interior, is slavery, which has increased to an alarming degree.

Mr Wood to Colonel Warrington.

British Vice-consulate, Bengazi, June 22, 1841.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your despatch of the 14th instant, enclosing, by Viscount Palmerston's orders, some observations from the Anti-slavery Convention, which, as you justly remark, never have or ever will be applicable to me.

Indeed, I must confess it has often been to me a subject of deep regret to witness this inhuman traffic carried on here, and which, I am sorry to say, has increased to a great extent during the present year; a circumstance, perhaps, to be attributed to the unsettled state of the country in your neighbourhood, owing to which the commerce between Tripoli and Fezzan has been entirely intercepted, and has now taken this direction, where, on account of our vicinity to the Levant, they find, I presume, greater facility in exporting them than at your port.

Upwards of 2000 have already, this year, been brought in from the interior in the most miserable and wretched state, the greater part of them having barely sufficient to cover their nakedness.

A kaffle, a short time ago, bringing 900 of these unfortunate people from Wadey, lost no less than 300 on their way; having died chiefly from hunger and thirst, added to other privations to which they were subject on the road.

The slaves brought here formerly used to come from Fezzan, but now a great number are sent from Wadey, owing, I understand, to the existing hostilities between the Sultan of that country and that of Darfoor, which prevents them taking any longer the route by Egypt. This, no doubt, tends also, in some degree, to increase the traffic at this port. The slaves from Wadey, generally speaking, arrive in a much worse condition than those from Fezzan, and suffer more, owing to the want of water and the long tract of desert they have to cross.

A report having been in circulation regarding the Sultan's intention of abolishing slavery throughout the Ottoman dominions, and which has lately gained ground since the news of what has taken place at Tunis was known here, this rumour has created the greatest alarm amongst those concerned in this traffic, so much so that they have ever since been most active in shipping off their slaves for Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places on the Levant, with the view of disposing of them before any change actually takes place. In fact, 1270 slaves have been embarked at this port within the last two months, the traffic in question being confined to vessels under the Turkish flag. It is true Greek ships used formerly to be engaged in their exportation, but have discontinued since the new law was issued by the King of Greece, prohibiting his subjects from engaging therein under heavy penalties.

The local government derives a large amount from this branch of revenue, as the owners pay on exporting them a custom duty of five dol-

lars each slave, besides other two dollars on entering the town, producing in the present year upwards of 14,000 dollars.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. Wood.

With the view of inducing the Arab chiefs of the interior to forego the slave-trade, and apply themselves to legitimate commerce, Colonel Warrington prepared the following address, which was translated into Arabic, to be circulated throughout the interior, and along the coast of Northern Africa :—

CIRCULAR.

The benevolent and humane feeling of the people of England to better the condition of the black tribes of the interior of Africa, and the anxious desire of my august mistress, the Queen of England, to abolish the revolting traffic in the flesh and blood of our fellow-creatures, induce me to address these few words to every good man.

The object of the traffic in slaves is *gain*, and habit has reconciled it to those who trade therein, without considering the enormity of the crime of taking by force the infant from its mother—or separating the wife from her husband—and dragging the victims over the burning sands of the desert—where they often expire under the lash of the slave-driver! towards the coast, to be exhibited in the public bazaar, and thence transported to a foreign land, where they are sold to gratify the avarice or the passions of man.

One great God rules over all, both the black and the white! And can we bring our minds to believe that He can sanction such abominable acts of cruelty to our fellow-creatures?

Believe me, No. His mercy, his forgiveness, his benevolence and justice, extend to all his creatures. The black and the white enjoy his almighty care.

It is evident that the object is *gain*. I, therefore, in the name of my sovereign and common humanity, call your attention to a more honourable pursuit in commerce, where the profit and advantages will be ten or a hundred-fold. Look to the natural resources of the interior, where the following articles invite you to trade therein: gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, gum, skins, indigo, senna, &c. Abolish now this inhuman traffic in your fellow-creatures—open a communication with the natives of the interior—assure them that they can carry on trade in perfect security to life and property through those territories under your immediate control, and allow the few regular traders to pass by you unmolested, and assist their lawful traffic.

Then you will have done a humane and benevolent act, which God will approve, in thus diffusing plenty and happiness to millions of your fellow-creatures.

Your own conscience will then tell you that you have done well; you will become rich and happy by a commercial intercourse with the interior; and you will obtain the permanent friendship of England, who will not be unmindful of the great and noble act of your abolishing slavery, and promoting commerce and civilisation throughout Central Africa.

These objects are the cherished wish of my heart—and to see the regency of Tripoli the land of justice, prosperity, riches, and happiness, is my fervent prayer.

(Signed) H. Warrington.

British Consulate, 26th March, 1842.

(Slave-trade Papers, Class D, 1841, pp. 78—81.)

MUSCAT.

Extract of a Memorandum from Captain Cogan, formerly Political Agent at Zanzebar, dated London, 5th December, 1839.

The financial resources of his Highness (the Imaum of Muscat) are now £80,000 per annum; £20,000 of which emanates, directly or indirectly, from the sale or purchase of slaves. Of these there are from 45 to 50,000 annually sold in the Zanzebar market, about 20,000 of which are exported to Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and the coast of Mackerun; but it is the Portuguese settlements on this coast that form marts for the supply of slaves to Christian states, while the government of Portugal openly levies a duty of seven Spanish dollars on each slave so exported; and I am credibly informed it is by means of this revenue that the Portuguese power is maintained in East Africa; a circumstance which his Highness invariably adverts to when I have spoken to him on the abolition of slavery. Notwithstanding, however, what I have remarked, I am certain his Highness is willing to make any reasonable sacrifice to meet our wishes regarding the abolition of slavery. (Par. Papers, Class C, further series, p. 67, 1840.)

Extract of a Political Letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 23rd May, 1840.

From the letter from Captain Hennell, the resident in the Persian Gulf, dated 17th December last, your honourable court will be gratified to perceive that the Imaum of Muscat has consented to three articles being added to the treaty concluded with his Highness by Captain Moresby, of her Majesty's ship *Menai*, under date the 29th August, 1822, in which his Highness authorises the right of search, and extends the boundary line laid down in Captain Moresby's treaty, from Diu Head to Pussein, the eastern extremity of the territories of his Highness on the coast of Mekran, thus including the coasts of Kattewar, Cutch, Karrachee, and upwards of four degrees westward, in the limits within which the subjects of Museat are now forbidden to carry on the slave-trade.

A very considerable traffic in slaves has long been known to have been carried on, more particularly from Africa, with the Portuguese settlement of Diu, on the coast of Kattewar, with the port of Mandavie in Cutch, and with those in Sinde. By the arrangements which have now been effected, through Captain Hennell's instrumentality with his Highness the Imaum, the British government will have the power of effectually excluding this nefarious trade on the long line of coast extending from Bombay to Cape Pussein, in Mekran.

A letter has been addressed by our honourable president to his Highness the Imaum, expressive of the high satisfaction of government in receiving the gratifying intelligence of his Highness's co-operation in the accomplishment of an object in which the British nation has ever taken the deepest interest, intimating that his Highness could not have afforded a better proof of his friendship and regard.

The three articles in question run thus:—

"I agree that the following articles be added to the above treaty, concluded by Captain Moresby on the aforesaid date.

1st. "That the government cruisers, whenever they may meet any vessel belonging to my subjects, beyond a direct line drawn from Cape Delgado, passing two degrees seaward of the island of Socotra, and ending at Pussein, and shall suspect that such vessel is engaged in the slave-trade, the said cruisers are permitted to detain and search it.

2nd. "Should it, on examination, be found that any vessel belonging to my subjects is carrying slaves, whether men, women, or children, for sale beyond the aforesaid line, then the government cruisers shall seize

and confiscate such vessel and her cargo; but if the said vessel shall pass beyond the aforesaid line, owing to stress of weather, or other cases of necessity not under control, then she shall not be seized.

3rd. "As the selling of males and females, whether grown up or young, who are 'hoor' or free, is contrary to the Mohammedan religion; and whereas the Soomalees are included in the hoor or free, I do hereby agree that the sale of males and females, whether young or old, of the Soomalee tribe, shall be considered as piracy; and that four months from this date, all those of my people convicted of being concerned in such an act shall be punished as pirates." Dated 10th Showal, 1225, A.H., corresponding to the 17th December, A.D. 1839.

These articles have been published in the government gazette, at this presidency, in the English, Arabic, Persian, Guzeratte, and Mahratta languages; and the superintendent of the Indian navy has been directed to adopt effectual measures for the enforcement, within the extended boundary therein specified, of the further prohibition of the slave trade, now agreed to by his Highness the Imaum. (Par. Pap., 238, 1841, pp. 158, 159.)

Subsequently to the above period, Captain Hennell negotiated a treaty in the terms of the above articles, the right of search extending beyond a direct line drawn from Cape Delgado, passing two degrees seaward of of the island of Socotra and ending at Cape Guadel, with the following maritime Arab chiefs: the Shaik of Aboothabee, Shaik Mukhtoom of Debhoy, Shaik Abdoola of Armulgaveen, and Shaik Sultan Bin Suggur of Raselkhymah. (Ibid, p. 160.)

No. XXVI.

FREE AFRICANS.

Her Majesty's Commissioners at Sierra Leone to Viscount Palmerston.

During the present year (1840) it appears that the Rio Pongas has been visited by fewer slaving vessels than for many years past; not, however, from any falling off in the activity of the foreigners engaged in that traffic, but from the fact that several of their vessels having been, within the last two years, exposed to the ill-treatment of the slaves of the late king of the river, Mungo Yangey, who, on his demise, declared their independence, and have since set at defiance all the authorities of the place. These negroes, on the arrival of a slave vessel, have been in the habit of possessing themselves of the cargo, for which very liberal promises of early payment of the full value were once tendered; but after a delay of many months the slavers have been obliged to depart with only a third, or perhaps a fourth, of the return cargo which had been agreed upon. Such a mode of carrying on business even the enormous profits of the slave-traffic will not bear, and hence the decrease of that traffic in the Rio Pongas during this year.

On the death of the notorious slaver, John Ormond, his numerous slaves followed the example of the late king's negroes, and declared themselves free. They withdrew at once from the late John Ormond's town, Bangalang, in the Pongas, and established themselves in a village of their own, on the confines of the Foulah country, and have entrenched themselves within a strong stockade.

These acts of self-emancipation on the part of large bodies of negroes in the Pongas must, we think, speedily so change the state of affairs in that river as to lead to the hope that, by timely and judicious interference on the part of the friends of Africa, the slave-trade might be eradicated. (Slave-trade Papers for 1842, Class A, pp. 10, 11.)

No. XXVII.

RUSSIAN SERFAGE.

(From the *Morning Herald.*)

We publish subjoined a document of much importance—viz., an ukase of the Emperor of Russia for ameliorating the condition of the serf population of his empire. We give at the same time an order of the Minister of the Interior, and a circular letter of the Grand Master of Police, accompanying the ukase, modifying and limiting the sense of the imperial edict.

An apparent contradiction is evident in the text of these documents. It seems as if the benevolent intentions of the Emperor were arrested almost on the point of execution, by an after-thought of policy, forced upon him by unseen obstacles which had arisen. We are enabled, however, by a communication from Vienna, of a confidential and important nature, to explain this seeming inconsistency.

We are told that the Emperor of Russia, having resolved to liberate, in one sweeping act, the immense portion of the population of his empire born in a state of servitude, lately called together the council of state for the purpose of making his intentions known. The proposition was received by the subservient portion of the council with satisfaction; but the old and powerful nobility present declared, that such an act was tantamount to a revolution—that it endangered their lives and properties—and that, in honour and conscience, they could not adopt it.

The council separated without any decision being taken, and the utmost secrecy was for some time preserved on the subject. But a matter so important to all the great interests of the nobility and inferior classes could not long be suppressed, and at length the public became alarmed with reports relative to the Emperor's intentions. The old nobility (whose fathers have heretofore proved what desperate expedients they were capable of resorting to, when their interests were affected by the imperial will) assumed a tone, almost amounting to menace, against the Emperor; while, on the other hand, the liberal portion of that class, supported by popular opinion, openly avowed their approbation of the Autocrat's conduct.

In this state of things, the Emperor was forced to compromise, and unwilling either to give up his favourite project, or to have the appearance of yielding to the clamour of the old nobility, he issued the ukase above alluded to, for the modification of the condition of the serfs; accompanied at the same time by an order of the police, explaining it in a manner calculated to satisfy the apprehensions of the opposition.

The question now remains in this rather uncertain position. The Emperor, who is never known to recede from any resolution deliberately formed, gives reasons to believe that he will proceed to other and more decided acts; while the deeply-rooted prejudices of the nobility, who are equally reckless in their resolves, may lead them, rather than submit, to make such a resistance as might be fatal to the Emperor.

Viewing this subject in all its bearings, it is one of great importance; and neither the revolution of 1830 in France, nor the Reform act in this country, have led to the serious consequences which may arise from further agitation of it.

We need only add that our information on this matter is drawn from the best and most authentic sources.

Ukase to the Directing Senate.

In the ukase of his Majesty to the directing senate, dated 2nd of April of this year, and signed with his own hand, it is said :—

"The articles 440 and 457 of paragraph 9 in the code of laws, fix the regulations according to which seigneurs are allowed to convert their serfs into free labourers, in making over to them in full property, seignorial lands, in consideration of certain reciprocal advantages, to be specified in special contracts. But, willing, in the interest of the state, that these feudal lands, one of the privileges of the nobility, and which are engaged by contract, be guaranteed from all that might endanger property belonging to the nobility, we have thought proper, by interpreting article 442, paragraph 9, of the code of laws, to concede to the seigneurs who should be disposed to conclude with their peasantry contracts based on the said article, and this without prejudice to the interests of the labouring peasantry, to concede to them the right of supremacy over the lands thus conceded. And we order all peasants who shall receive portions of the said feudal lands to recognise this supremacy. Wherefore, we have decided that all contracts passed by mutual consent between the seigneurs and their peasantry, shall be based on the following dispositions, which have been examined in the council of the empire, and sanctioned by us :—

1. "The tenure of the peasant to the seigneur can be regulated in the contracts by money arising from the produce of the land, or from any other kind of industry.

2. "Should the peasants refuse to fulfil the conditions of the contract which they have accepted, they shall be compelled thereto by the local police, under the guarantee of the head of the nobility of the district, and under the superintendence of the government authorities.

3. "The peasants who shall have entered into contracts with their seigneurs shall henceforward bear the denomination of '*peasants who have obligations to fulfil.*'

4. "In as far as these peasants are concerned, the recruiting service shall follow the rotation laid down by the ordonnances for that service.

5. "With respect to the support of the *Greniers d'Abondances* (depôts for grain), and the assistance to be given in case of fire, which are at the charge of the free peasants, under the direction of their seigneurs, if the latter refuse to take upon them this responsibility, the obligation shall be fulfilled by the nearest authorities.

6. "The seigneurs shall organise among the neighbouring peasantry a local administration, and shall have the high police.

7. "As for the contracts to be concluded with the peasants who belong to the properties engaged with the banks of the empire, if it be the intention of the seigneurs to place these properties in pledge, they must obtain the consent of the bank before passing a contract.

8. "The seigneurs and the labouring peasants who have been liberated, are to consider the contracts passed between them as indissoluble, each, however, keeping the right to change certain clauses of it, in case the property should be engaged to the banks of the crown. These changes must be guaranteed by those banks.

9. "The contracts entered into according to the above dispositions shall be drawn upon stamped paper of the fourth class, and submitted for our sanction and signature according to law.

10. "The directing senate is entrusted with the carrying into effect of this ukase."

The next document is from the Minister of the Interior, dated April 2nd, 1842, addressed to the head of the police at St Petersburg. The minister, in forwarding the above ukase, says, that "the object of it is to determine the nature of the tenure of the peasantry, in the contracts they will form with their seigneurs, but that the lands remain, as heretofore, the lands of the nobility. From hence it clearly results that the relations which exist between the seigneurs and the peasants, with whom no contract should

have been concluded, remain the same as ever, and experience no change. All this is explained in the terms of the ukase, and it must be understood in that spirit. If the Emperor had any other view, he would have openly declared it. As he had not done so, to seek in the imperial ukase, or to persuade others that it can bear any other signification, would be a great crime, since it will be acting against the will of our Sovereign.

"His Majesty, therefore, orders all military and civil governors to watch with care that no false interpretation be given to the present ukase, such, for instance, as the freedom of all peasantry. If among any class should be found evil-disposed persons spreading false and dangerous intelligence to delude the people, they are to be arrested and punished with all the rigour of the law.

"They are equally to take care that the peasants remain in the same subserviency to the legitimate power of their seigneurs. If any should prove contumacious, they are to be brought back to their duty by mild means and persuasion, and in failure of this, by the rigour of the law.

(Signed) "PEROWSKY.

"To this letter is subjoined an order from the Grand Master of Police, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, prescribing to the masters of police to give their utmost attention to prevent any false interpretations and false reports that may be spread about on the imperial intentions, as manifested in the above ukase.

(Signed) "CACOCHEKINE, Grand Master of Police."

THE EMPEROR, HIS NOBLES, AND THE SERFS.

There has been no incident of recent years, connected with the internal state of the Russian empire, which has excited more attention and interest throughout Europe than the issuing of the imperial ukase of the (2nd) 14th April last. It created a sufficient sensation at St Petersburg and Moscow fully to account for the evident apprehension of the Czar and his government, which overtly evinced itself in the explanatory and threatening order of the Minister of the Interior against its false interpretation which immediately followed.

In now giving publication to a very ample and interesting exposition (subjoined) of that internal condition of things in Russia affected by this important imperial rescript, we are led to an historical reference, whereby are developed some of those causes which gave it a character so peculiarly alarming.

That state of slavery, or serfdom, by which the populations of the provinces of Russia Proper are now subjected to the absolute disposition and capricious rule of their barbarian seigneurs, is of modern introduction. It owes its existence to that spirit of conquest which, from the destruction of the independence of Novgorost the Great, has ever animated the councils of that despotic system, established supreme through the factions on which were wrecked republican institutions and freedom. Iwan Wasiliewitch, triumphant against the Tartars, succeeded in achieving conquests over that race to whose galling yoke his ancestors had been submissive. He wrested from them, by conquest, the rich flourishing territories of Casan and Astrakan. To this fertile region, attracted by the superiority of climate and other advantages, an extensive and constantly increasing emigration proceeded from the Russian country. It was then, in the year 1556, that, in order to check a process so desolating to his other provinces, Iwan attached the peasantry to the soil they occupied, by the condition of serfdom, subject to a superior lord, in whom he recognised the proprietary of the soil.

Subsequent rulers of Russia have contemplated, and even attempted, more perhaps as a check to the power of the nobles than as an act of justice, to restore to the peasantry former rights and longed-for freedom; but they have been invariably compelled to abandon the design.

The Czar Alexis Michaelowitz having made known his intentions in their favour, these people, then sunk in profound ignorance and abasement, but alive to their wrongs, thus recognised by the sovereign, intoxicated with the joyous anticipation of recovered freedom, having collected in large masses, marched on Moscow to take vengeance on their former oppressors.

Catherine II. made a similar attempt, and with a like result. The serfs hailed the boon by rising on all sides, to the number of some hundred thousands, and upwards of fifty of their lords are said to have been massacred in the outbreak.

It may, then, be easily conceived that the Russian nobles could not contemplate, otherwise than with dissatisfaction and anxiety amounting to dismay, the ukase of April last, a measure which they declared to menace equally their properties and their lives.

But it is not that only which the ukase accomplishes which is most important, but that which it prepares for the future. We think, with the Baron Von Humboldt, that it is but the first of a series of enactments which must, in the end, entirely change the present relations between the serf and his lord, indeed entirely abolish the state of serfdom. And this it is which, tending to curtail the power of the nobility, and to increase in proportion that of the crown, must be chiefly obnoxious to the former.

Although the law goes no further at present than to give the serf rights in accordance with any contract his lord and himself may concurrently conclude—an immense boon to the latter, who before could have neither right nor property independent of his seigneur—it imposes on the lord duties and obligations from which he, in turn, cannot escape, the supreme power constituting itself guarantee for the mutual observance of their future engagements. The executive thus creates a law by which it gives to itself the right and the opportunity of interference in the relations of the lord with his serf, and becomes, from that day forth, looked upon by the latter as his protector against the tyranny of the former, and the maintainer of the letter and the spirit of his contract from all infraction.

* * * * * *

The Emperor has caused an old law of the empire for the prevention of maltreatment and cruelty towards the serfs by their lords to be enforced with the utmost rigour. A ukase had been given for this purpose by Peter the Great, but had fallen into desuetude; it being alleged that the serfs abused it to bring false and frivolous complaints against their lords. It would seem the ukase of April last must have been a measure long determined upon, and as suddenly executed; to judge of the utter paralysation of the nobles, and its hitherto more peaceful reception on this occasion, compared with the others, when measures of relief, formerly held out to the peasantry, were as quickly abandoned. All that we have been able to learn amounts to no more than great excitement, tantamount in its exhibition to partial commotions, as quickly succeeded by the former tranquillity.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE BARON VON HUMBOLDT ON THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL UKASE OF 2ND (14TH) APRIL, 1842.

The text of a law of the highest importance, which has recently appeared in Russia, and which has evidently for its object to prepare and introduce

gradually a change in rural relations, and especially in the personal state and real condition of the peasants, has been published in the 122nd number of the *Prussian State Gazette.*

Before offering any observations upon this remarkable law, it is desirable to make known, in a few words, the state of the Russian peasantry.

For this purpose should be preferably selected that which is the core of of the monarchy—the ancient Muscovite states of the Czar, or Great Russia. The heretofore Swedish provinces, the German provinces on the coast of the Baltic, the Polish provinces, Little Russia, ancient Scythia, and the Asiatic districts are either not subject to this law, as Finland and the Baltic provinces, or the influence of this law is but little, or much less, felt than in great Russia, where the culture of the country and the constitution of the rural economy is quite differently organised.

Great Russia is inhabited by an active and industrious people, well-adapted to all technical labours, and at the same time fine and vigorous.

About the one-half of the whole land belongs to the crown, the other half to the nobility; the people, with but few exceptions, are serfs.

* * * * * * *

The spirit and meaning of the ukase of April 2nd appears to us to be as follows. Up to that day there were only the proprietary lords (the nobility) and *free* persons which could enter into *contracts* the one with the other, respecting usufruct and the alienation of land; thenceforward these contracts have become possible between the lord and his serfs. The personal rights of the serf have long since been protected as much as possible by the legislation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; this legislation forbids the commission of ill-treatment and acts of cruelty against the serf. As to *real* rights, the serf in fact possessed none *as against his lord.* All that he could acquire or possess belonged to the lord, who could take it from him without the hindrance of any law. This never happened, it is true, for usages and customs were opposed to it; but who is there that could predict for how long a period yet usages and customs will obtain in Russia, in presence of modern civilisation, which will only recognise *legal* conditions?

This ukase constitutes a new kind of serfs, who can possess a thing in entire property, and under the guarantee of the law; for since the right to make reciprocal contracts with their lords is granted to them, this concession tacitly implies by such contract the right of property over the fortune acquired. There is, moreover, accorded to them *the right to carry complaint* against their lords, which, to this time, could not occur in respect to the real concerns and the fortune of serfs; for, in fact, according to the tenor of the second article, the lord not being able to do himself justice, and being obliged to institute a complaint against the serfs in case these should not fulfil the conditions of the contract, it is evident that the right to defend themselves and to make complaint is acknowleged in them. This species of serfs has a complete resemblance to the mortaillables* of Westphalia, respecting which an Englishman wittily observed, "they are serfs, but entirely free," while the Poles, on the contrary, are "free, but completely slaves."

As to the method to be adopted in the concluding of contracts, the ukase in question leaves the contracting parties perfectly at liberty.

Under the hitherto existing constitution there has very seldom been farm relations in respect to landed property; indeed, till now, such could be only concluded with freemen, and of them there were few in the country. They were first increased by degrees through the new military legislation, under which the soldier, after fifteen years of service, is dismissed home a freeman. The Russian law does not, as far as we know, recognise an

* Eigenbehorigen, belonging in proprietary.

hereditary farm relation; but by the present ukase it is evidently not excluded. Perhaps, indeed, it may be the very aim of the law given, in which case there may be expected, probably ere long, a special fundamental law respecting this tie. On the other hand, grants, as under the feudal law, hereditary leases, &c., in general contracts by which a divided property (over proprietary and profitable proprietary) is constituted, are entirely excluded by the introductory part of this law, according to which the lord remains sole proprietor, the peasant only to obtain a usufruct (temporary, for lifetime, hereditary) of the ground and soil. We must be much mistaken, or in sect. 7 and 8 of this law there rests a great incentive and impulse to incline the land proprietors to conclude such contracts with their peasants.

"Sect. 7. As for the conclusion of the contracts with the peasants who belong to such properties as are engaged with the loan banks of the empire, if the seigneurs intend to continue these properties in pledge, they must obtain the consent of the bank before passing a contract. The properties inhabited by contracting peasants may also again be pledged to the loan banks, in proportion to the standing income, which is to be verified from the extent and quality of the ground, and from the means of its cultivation, according to special laws to be given afterwards respecting this.

"Sect. 8. The seigneurs and the contracting peasants are for ever to remain invariably faithful to the contracts concluded between them, having, however, the right to make alterations, by special and private arrangements, respecting the distribution of properties and the labour of the peasants for certain periods on their reciprocal agreement; and if the estates are pledged, this must be with the concurrence of the respective loan banks of the empire, but in all cases not otherwise than with the previous confirmation of government."

In Russia almost only the public loan institutions grant to the land proprietors the necessary credit, which is calculated and granted according to the number of serfs, and then for each soul a certain sum; but this very differently in different governments. That the full value of the labour of the serfs cannot be taken into account is clear, as these are more or less vacillating; and it cannot be doubted that the contributions and labours of the peasants bound by contract, especially if hereditary forms are chosen, have a much higher value, and allow a much greater credit. The government has hereby left their hands free, probably in order to promote the spreading of the new institution by facility and licence in this sense.

That which appears the most desirable is, that the land proprietors should be led to change the hitherto existing tax *obrock* into a fee-farm (*erbpacht*), whilst the all and singular obligations of the village communities should continue in force; whereby a moderate increase of rent could be obtained, perhaps, in most places without prejudice to the peasants, who would be indemnified by favourable and lasting legal relations, through which, of course, the now existing increase of the tax by the growth of the population would in so far fall away, as the rural community would no longer remain one and all guarantees for the unsettled serfs.

The Minister of the Interior has, on the 3rd of April, added to the publication of the law a circular to all the governors, wherein everybody is warned, under threat of punishment, to understand the law only literally, and not to surmise any interpretation and extension foreign to it; nevertheless we should not be surprised if here and there false interpretations and misunderstandings should occur, which might lead to instigations and to partial disorders; but the benevolent, humane, and paternal spirit which

has inspired this law will finally, and it is to be hoped very soon, surmount all obstacles, and bear excellent fruit.

No. XXVIII.

Comparative Statement showing the average quantity of Sugar imported into Great Britain.

From	During the six years preceding the apprenticeship	During the four years of the apprenticeship.	During the first year of freedom.
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.
Antigua*	173,947	143,878	222,689
Barbadoes	343,513	409,354	395,109
Dominica	55,539	35,560	29,385
Grenada	200,708	161,327	117,260
Jamaica	1,362,798	1,040,070	765,078
Montserrat	22,835	11,130	13,443
Nevis	49,607	28,512	36,466
St Kitts'	104,809	79,266	135,548
St Lucia	66,828	51,487	50,215
St Vincent	222,732	194,223	151,899
Tobago	93,157	89,331	66,244
Tortola	17,763	12,786	5,249
Trinidad	310,797	295,787	268,669
British Guiana	874,347	935,849	566,852
Total	3,899,380	3,488,560	2,824,106

(Slave-trade Papers, 1842, Class A, p. 226.)

In connexion with the foregoing table, which will be found useful hereafter for reference, we give the following extracts from a speech of Lord Stanley's, delivered in the House of Commons on the 22nd of March, 1842, on the appointment of the West Indian and West African committees of inquiry :—" It will be found," said his lordship, " that the British emancipation took place without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance; that the joy of the negroes on the 1st of August, 1838, was orderly, sober, and religious; that since emancipation, the negroes have been thriving and contented; that they have varied their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become more and more light and infrequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has become more and more substituted for concubinage; that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion. Such are among the results of emancipation which are plain and indisputable; and these results constitute, in the estimation of her Majesty's government and the people of England, the complete success of the British emancipation, in so far as relates to the primary and paramount object of that act."

Among the quotations given by the noble lord in proof of his statement was the following, furnished by Sir Charles Metcalfe, late governor of Jamaica :—" The number of freeholders becoming so by the accumulations of their own industry, assessed in Jamaica, were, in 1838, 2014; 1840, 7848; "a fact which shows not only the industry and willingness of the emancipated slaves to bear their share of the general taxation, but their anxiety to become possessed of the political franchise.

* No apprenticeship in Antigua.

After showing the improved condition of the labourers in British Guiana, his lordship proceeded to observe: "What had been the consequence of this state of prosperity in the negro mind and negro habits? Had it led them, as some persons feared it would, into habits of vagrancy and idleness? Had it led them to abandon the pursuits of industry, and give up the cultivation of the soil? No such thing. He was sure he would be permitted to state one or two most satisfactory instances by which they might judge, in general, of the motives which influenced the negro population." The noble lord then adduced the fact that the free negro labourers had become the purchasers of considerable portions of land, for which they had paid a large sum of money, and had selected "the cultivated parts of the colony, rather than retreat to the distant parts, where the same money would have procured three times the number of acres from the crown."

Having quoted at considerable length official documents, his lordship said, "These statements shewed, he thought, this: that as far as the labourers were concerned in Jamaica and Demerara, and though varying in degree, they were a sample of the whole of our colonies, the experiment had been not only successful in placing them in a situation of great physical enjoyment, beyond the anticipations of their boldest friends, but they also proved, that they had learned to turn to advantage their newly acquired gift of freedom in accumulating property, the product of their industry, and cultivating habits worthy of freemen. If he wanted another proof of this, he had it ready to his hand in the amount of exports to the West Indies from this country, during the period of apprenticeship, subsequent to complete emancipation. The average value of the exports from this country to the West India Colonies in the six years preceding emancipation, was £2,783,000; the average during the four years of the apprenticeship, 1835 to 1838, was £3,573,000; the amount during the first year of freedom, 1839, was £4,002,000; and during the second year of freedom, the amount was £3,492,734. He would not trouble the House with further statements with respect to the number of schools and chapels which had been built. He hoped he had said enough to indicate to the House the social condition of the negroes."

On the debateable points introduced into this speech of the noble lord respecting the cost of production, supply of labour, &c., we do not think it necessary either to quote or to refute his statements, especially as one of the main facts on which he rested his views has been proved, subsequently to its delivery, to be entirely erroneous; we therefore conclude our extracts with the following important remarks of his lordship, which are well deserving attention. "When," said the noble lord, "he looked to the average quantity of sugar imported into the United Kingdom from the West Indies, he found that during the six years preceding the apprenticeship it was 3,905,034 cwt; that during the four years of the apprenticeship it fell to 3,486,225 cwt; that during the first year of freedom, 1839, it fell to 2,824,106 cwt; and that during the second year of freedom, 1840, it fell to 2,210,226 cwt. If the House would permit him to state this case fully and fairly they would find that the deficiency in the quantity had been made up by the increased value of the produce in the different intervals. For instance, the average value of sugar for the six years preceding the apprenticeship was £5,320,021, and that for the four years of the apprenticeship was £6,217,801; in the first year of freedom the amount was £5,530,000, and in the next year £5,424,000; and although this year there would be a large reduction, still there would be a fair remuneration for what was lost by the diminution of produce." (Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 1842, pp. 1092—1106.)

G. W. ALEXANDER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FROM 1st MAY, 1841, TO 30th APRIL, 1842.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance in Secretary's hands				20	3	6
Collected at Exeter Hall, at the Second Annual Meeting of the Society	22	15	7			
General Donations	1100	9	1			
Donation from the Standing Committee of the Society of Friends	800	0	0			
Annual Subscriptions	218	11	0			
				2411	18	8
Sale of *Anti-Slavery Reporter*	268	14	6			
Other publications	110	0	8			
				378	15	2
				2810	17	4
Balance due to the Treasurer				525	6	7
				£3366	3	11

				£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Treasurer				575	16	10
Cost of Editing, Printing, and Publishing the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*	631	10	0			
Cost of Paper, Printing, and Binding the volume of "Proceedings of the Convention"	274	7	0			
Cost of Printing 3000 copies of the Second Annual Report, and other publications of the Society, and Binding	274	15	8			
Short-hand Writer, for reporting the proceedings of the Convention	144	0	0			
Law Stationer's Charges for Engrossing and Copying	82	11	0			
Books,—including Foreign Publications and Parliamentary Papers, and Stationery	141	11	0			
Advertising Publications, Resolutions, and Meetings of the Society, and Cost of Newspapers	152	5	10			
Postages of Circulars, Addresses, Pamphlets, Letters, and Newspapers, both at home and abroad; also Carriage of Parcels, Postage, and Shipping and other charges	194	5	2			
Travelling Expenses of Agents, &c.	138	10	9			
Salaries of Agents, Clerks, Housekeeper, and Messengers	524	3	11			
Rent, Taxes, and Repairs	85	9	8			
Coals, Candles, Cleaning of Offices, &c.	70	18	8			
Expenses at Exeter Hall at the Second Annual Meeting of the Society	44	17	6			
Incidental and Petty Expenses	19	11	8			
				2778	17	10
Balance in Secretary's hands				11	9	3
				£3366	3	11

We the undersigned have examined this account with the Vouchers, &c., and find it correct. { HENRY STERRY. JOSEPH COOPER.

9th of 5th Month, 1842.

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

IN LONDON AND ITS VICINITY.

Should any inaccuracy be discovered in this List, the Secretary will feel obliged by his being informed of the same, in order to its correction.

*** Donations under Five Pounds, which were printed in last Report, are omitted in this, except such as are accompanied by an annual subscription, or a further donation.

	Donations. £	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £	s.	d.
Abdy, E. S., Margaret st, Cavendish square	5	0	0			
A Friend to humanity, per John Scoble	10	0	0			
Alexander, G. W., Lombard street	375	0	0	10	10	0
Allen, Stafford, Cowper st				2	2	0
Allen, William, Plough ct				2	0	0
Ashurst, W. H., 137, Cheapside				1	1	0
Barclay, J. G., Lombard st				1	1	0
Beaumont, Abm, Holborn	10	10	0			
Beaumont, J, Northampton square				1	0	0
Bell, John, Oxford street	120	0	0	2	2	0
Brooks, Wm, Islington				0	10	0
Brown, G. B.	5	5	0			
Brown, H. N., Union st, Shadwell	5	5	0			
Birchall, S. J., Doctors' Commons				1	1	0
Birchall, S. J., jun., Ditto				0	10	0
Buxton, Sir T. F., Bart, Spitalfields	10	10	0			
Buxton, Edward N., Ditto	5	0	0	5	5	0
Campbell, Lieutenant-col., Whitehall				1	1	0
Clarke, Jer., Moorgate st				1	1	0
Collected at Exeter hall	22	15	7			
Cooper, Joseph, Laurence Pountney lane				2	2	0
Corderoy, J. and E., Tooley street	5	5	0			
Delegate, A, per R. Forster	100	0	0			
Ewart, W., M.P., Pall Mall	5	0	0	1	1	0
Fletcher, Edmund	10	0	0			
Fordham, Mr	2	0	0			
Forster, Joseph T.	10	0	0			
Friends, the standing committee of the Society of,	800	0	0			
Grimshaw, William, jun., Goswell street				0	10	6
Gurney, Sam., Lombard st	350	0	0			
Gurney, W. B., Abingdon street	10	10	0			
Harvey, R, Gracechurch st				1	1	0
Hatchard, John, Strand				1	1	0
Haydon, B. R., Connaught terrace	0	10	0			
Hinton, Rev. J. H., A.M., Finsbury terrace				1	1	0
Holmes, William, per Miss Merrington	0	10	0			
Hubbert, J. Hull street, St Luke's				0	10	0
Johnson, Rob., Watling st	5	5	0			
Kitching, John	5	0	0			

	Donations. £	s.	d.	Ann. Sub £	s.	d
Latchmore, John, Layton's bldngs, Borough				1	1	0
Lecesne, L. C., Fenchurch building				2	2	0
Lister, D., Berkeley sq.	10	10	0			
Lister, Joseph J., Tokenhouse yard				2	2	0
Lushington, Rt Hon. Stephen, D.C.L.	10	10	0			
Lushington, Charles				1	1	0
Langton, Mr	5	0	0			
Masters, H. W., Wilson street, Finsbury				1	1	0
Mills, Samuel, Russell sq.	5	0	0			
Neatby, Jos., Kennington	5	0	0	2	2	0
Norton, W., Bermondsey				1	1	0
Norton, Thos, jun., Ditto				1	1	0
Oliver, J., Newington causeway				1	1	0
Palmer, E., High street, Southwark				1	1	0
Peek, James, Love lane	5	5	0	1	1	0
Post, Jacob, Islington	12	10	0	1	1	0
Roberts, H., Brunswick square	10	10	0			
Robinson, Jos. P., Leadenhall street				1	1	0
Savory, Joseph, Cornhill	5	0	0	1	1	0
Sheppard, Chas H., Pump court, Temple				1	1	0
Smith, Eben., Billiter sq.				1	1	0
Smith, Rev. Dr J. P., Homerton				1	1	0
Smith, Elizabeth				0	10	0
Southwark Ladies' Negro Friend, and Anti-slavery society	22	0	0			
Stacey, George, Holborn				2	2	0
Sterry, Henry, Borough				3	3	0
Sterry, Richard, Ditto				1	1	0
Sterry, Joseph, Ditto				2	2	0
Sterry, Joseph, jun., Ditto				1	1	0
Struthers, W., Parliament street	10	10	0			
Taylor, W., New Ormond street	5	0	0	2	2	0
Thompson, T., Keppel st				1	1	0
Thorowgood, S., Houndsditch				1	0	0
Tucker, Jos., Finsbury circus				1	1	0
Tuckett, Henry, South st				1	1	0
Walker, S., per G. W. Alexander	10	10	0			
Warner, J., Jewin street				2	0	0
W. S.	5	0	0			

CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE COUNTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £.	s.	d.
BEDFORDSHIRE.						
Ampthill.						
May, Samuel				2	0	0
Bedford.						
Langley, Miss				1	0	0
Smith, Mrs William				1	1	0
Leighton Buzzard.						
Grant, John	10	0	0			
BERKSHIRE.						
Farringdon.						
Reynolds, Jane	29	0	0			
Reading.						
Billing, Miss				0	10	0
Fardon, Ephraim				0	5	0
Fardon, James				0	2	6
Fardon, Joseph				0	10	0
Harris, John				2	2	0
Huntley, Thomas				0	2	6
Huntley, Thos, junr				0	5	0
Jacobs, George				0	5	0
Smith, Henry				0	5	0
Smith, John				0	10	0
Stevens, Mr				0	10	0
Terry, George				0	2	6
Tutty, John				0	10	0
Tutty, Richard				0	10	0
Vines, Jabez				0	10	0
Williams, B.				0	10	0
Willis, John	6	6	0			
Woburn.						
Wiffen, B.	10	0	0			
T. C., per ditto	1	0	0			
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.						
Buckingham.						
Hatton and Raban, Misses	1	0	0			
Chesham.						
Pryor, Samuel P.				1	1	0
High Wycomb.						
Wilkinson, John	5	0	0			
Olney.						
Bell, Sheppard				3	0	0
Clarabut, T.	0	2	6			
Gauntlett, Samuel				0	10	0
Gribble, Rev. C. B., A.M.				0	10	0
Harris, John				0	10	0
Killingworth, John	0	5	0			
Killingworth, Wm	0	5	0			
Killingworth, Thos.	0	5	0			
Langley, — L.L.D.	0	5	0			
Langley, Mrs	0	5	0			
Longland, G.	0	5	0			
Old, James				0	10	0
Palmer, Joseph				0	10	0
Palmer, Mary	0	2	6			
Smith, Anne Hopkins	150	0	0	3	0	0
Smith, Elizabeth				0	10	0
Swannell, William (Weston)	0	5	0			
Talbot, John H.				1	0	0
Talbot, John				1	0	0
Taylor, John	0	5	0			
Toon, John	0	2	6			
Vairne, Rev. J.	0	5	0			
Whitlock, James	0	2	6			
CAMBRIDGESHIRE.						
Cambridge.						
Anonymous, per E. Forster	10	10	0			
Forster, Richard, jun.	3	0	0	1	1	0
Forster, Edward				0	10	0
Hall, Rev. F. R., D.D.	7	2	0			
Wisbeach.						
Auxiliary Society	5	0	0			
Peckover, William	5	0	0			
CHESHIRE.						
Macclesfield.						
Jesper, Samuel				0	10	0
CORNWALL.						
Burncoose.						
Williams, J. jun.	17	0	0	2	0	0
Camborne.						
Budge, John	2	2	0	1	0	0
Falmouth.						
Fox, Elizabeth				2	0	0
Fox, George				2	0	0
Fox, Robert W.				2	0	0
Fox, Alfred				0	10	0
Liskeard.						
Allen, John				1	1	0
Allen, Miss				0	10	0
Brown, W.	0	5	0			
Elliott, John	0	5	0			
Jackson, Clement	0	5	0			
Rundle, Samuel				1	1	0
Starke, F.	0	2	6			
Veale, J. E.				0	10	0
Veale, R.	0	5	0			
Veale Brothers	0	5	0			
Wadge, John				0	10	0
Perran.						
Fox, Charles	2	2	0	1	1	0
Truro.						
James, S.	2	10	0	1	0	0
James, J.	2	10	0	1	0	0
Tweedy, William				2	2	0
CUMBERLAND.						
Carlisle.						
Ferguson, Joseph	25	0	0			
Head, George Head	50	0	0	10	0	0
Nanson, William	5	0	0			
Robinson, George				0	10	6
Robinson, William				0	10	6
Sutton, Lydia				1	1	0
Cockermouth.						
Harris, Jonathan	0	5	0			
Spencer, Jeremiah	5	0	0			
Sutton, Lydia (Scotby)				1	1	0
Modbury.						
Prideaux, George				0	10	0
Whitehaven.						
Spencer, John	11	0	0			
DERBYSHIRE.						
Derby.						
Evans, William, M.P.	100	0	0			
DEVON.						
Exeter.						
Alexander, Daniel				0	10	0
Binham, Miss Esther	0	5	0			
Davis, S.				0	10	0
Drewe, William				1	1	0
Dymond, Robert				1	1	0
Dymond, John				0	10	0
Evans, R.				0	10	0
Glyde, Mrs.				1	0	0
Jacomb, T.	0	10	0			
Kennaway, M. (1811)				0	10	0
Knott, Thomas				1	1	0
Ladies' Auxiliary Society, per Miss S. J. Dymond	10	0	0			

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £.	s.	d.
Lee, William				1	1	0
Mackintosh, J.....				0	10	0
Milward, Thomas ..	0	10	0			
Neyle, Mrs.....	0	7	0			
Pope, Rev. J. W.....				0	10	6
Sawer, F. sen.				1	1	0
Sawer, John				1	1	0
Sheppard, J.	0	10	0			
Sparkes, Thomas T..				0	10	0
Sparkes, Sarah	10	0	0	1	1	0
Sparkes, Rachael....				1	1	0
Treffry, Henry.....				1	0	0
Wilkey, J.....				0	10	0
Wilkey, Mrs.				0	10	0
Wilkinson, W. H. ..	5	0	0			
Wright, Miss				1	1	0
Hazlewood.						
Peek, Richard	6	1	0	1	1	0
Heavitree.						
Wright, Miss				1	1	0
Kingsbridge.						
Auxiliary	5	0	0			
Modbury.						
Prideaux, George ..				0	10	0
Plymouth.						
Ladies' Auxiliary....	1	7	6			
White, James				0	10	0
Spiceland.						
Friends at, ...	0	10	0			
Uffculm.						
Milward, Thomas ..	0	10	0			
DORSETSHIRE.						
Poole.						
Binns, William	4	0	0	1	1	0
DURHAM.						
Bishopwearmouth.						
Richardson, William				1	0	0
Darlington.						
Backhouse, Edward .	15	0	0			
Backhouse, Jonathan	120	0	0			
Backhouse, John....	5	0	0			
Backhouse, John C. .	2	0	0			
Backhouse, William.	3	0	0			
Backhouse, Wm. jun.	2	0	0			
Pease, Joseph, sen...	10	0	0			
Pease, Joseph, jun...	3	0	0			
Pease, John	2	0	0			
Pease, John B.....	5	0	0			
Pease, Edward.....	15	0	0			
Sams, Joseph				1	1	0
North Shields.						
Brown, William, jun.	1	1	0	1	1	0
Ladies' Auxiliary Society	22	0	0			
Procter, I. R.	1	1	0	1	1	0
Procter, Joseph				1	1	0
South Shields.						
Bainbridge, Chris. ..	0	10	0	0	10	0
Winterbottom, J. M., M.D. (Westoe)....	5	0	0			
Sunderland.						
Armstrong, Henry .				0	10	0
Backhouse, Edward .				5	0	0
Forster, John				0	10	0
Paull, George				1	1	0
Ransom, John				1	1	0
Reed, James.....				0	10	0
Ritson, John.....				0	10	0
Robson, Thomas				1	0	0
Stockton-on-Tees.						
Wetherall, Joseph ..				1	0	0
ESSEX.						
Chelmsford.						
Christy, T. (Broomfield)	15	0	0			
Ditto for 1842	10	0	0			
Greenwood, M. & S.	10	0	0			
Knight, Ann.....				1	0	0
Wells and Perry	10	0	0			
Colchester.						
Auxiliary Society ..	26	0	0			
Catchpool, Thomas..	9	0	0	2	0	0
Cross, William.....	1	10	0			
Papillon, Mrs. E. (Lexden)				2	0	0
Earls Colne.						
Matthews, William..	0	5	0			
Epping.						
Doubleday, Benjamin	1	0	0			
Great Bardfield.						
Friends at,.....	2	0	0			
Halstead.						
Jesup, James.....				0	10	
Stanstead.						
Hicks, Charles.....				1	0	0
Upton.						
Sturges, Miss	1	1	0			
Woodwark, Rev. J ..				0	10	0
Woodwark, Mrs.....				1	1	0
Witham.						
Bolt, William	1	0	0			
Butler, William				0	10	0
Butler, Thomas	1	0	0			
Catchpool, James ..				0	10	0
Catchpool, Thomas..				1	0	0
Dixon, B. Wickham Mills	0	10	0			
Dixon, R. W.....				1	1	0
Foster, James				1	10	0
Kendall, Eliza				0	10	0
Pattisson, W. H.....	5	0	0	1	1	0
Pattisson, J. H.				1	1	0
Piper, D. H.....	0	5	0			
Shoens, the Misses..				0	10	0
Smith, Thomas				0	10	0
Unwin, J.				0	10	0
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.						
Bristol.						
„ and Clifton Ladies.....	16	0	0			
Ash, Edward, M.D..	10	0	0	2	2	0
Bouville, Ann	5	0	0			
Ball, Gawen	25	0	0			
Charlton, James	10	0	0			
Eaton Joseph	35	0	0	5	5	0
Friend, A	10	0	0			
From one who purchased 20 shares in the Imperial Brazilian Mines, without the knowledge of their being worked by slaves. In trust to be applied for the benefit of the slaves employed in the said mines	70	0	0			
Fry, Richard	5	0	0			
Grace, Josiah				1	1	0
Harford, John	10	0	0			
Hunt, Henry	10	0	0			
Reynolds, Joseph ..	10	0	0			
Saunders, Thomas ..	10	0	0			
Tanner, John	5	0	0			
Thomas, Edward....	25	0	0	5	5	0
Thomas, George	85	0	0			
Thomas, Alfred	10	0	0			
Cirencester.						
Auxiliary Society, per T. Brewin, Treasurer	18	0	0			
Cheltenham.						
Auxiliary	8	10	0			

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £.	s.	d.
Ladies' Anti-slavery Association.						
A Friend	0	10	0			
Agnew, Miss				1	1	0
Ditto (Collecting Card)	0	12	6			
Baker, Miss				0	10	0
Ball, Mrs.				1	0	0
Banner, Mrs.				0	10	0
Barrett, Mrs.				0	10	0
Capper, Rev. D.	0	5	0			
Capper, Mrs.				1	1	0
Dolbell, Mrs.	0	10	0			
Flower, Hon. Mrs...	1	0	0			
Gardener, Mrs.....				1	0	0
Greig, Miss				0	5	0
Ditto (Collecting Card)	0	14	0			
Hopper, Mrs.	1	0	0			
Lewis, Mrs.				1	1	0
Lindsey, Mrs.	0	10	0			
Monro, Mrs.....				1	1	0
Newman, Mrs.....				1	0	0
Oldham, Mrs.	1	0	0			
Ormsby, Mrs.				0	10	0
Owen, Mrs.	0	5	0			
Reynell, Mrs.				1	0	0
Reynell, Miss				1	0	0
Seward, Miss	0	10	0			
Underwood, Mrs. ..				0	10	0
Wallace, Mrs.	1	0	0			
Yerbury, Miss				1	1	0
(Of the above amount £13. 13s. has been received; the difference is the expense incurred for publications and in helping the agency.)						
Clifton.						
Guilleband, Rev. P..	11	11	0	1	1	0
Lindoe, Dr.	5	0	0			
Lindoe, Mrs.	5	0	0			
Frenchay.						
Tuckett, Elizabeth ..				1	1	0
Tuckett, P. D.....				1	1	0
Tuckett, Francis....				1	1	0
Gloucester.						
Harward, Capt. R.N.				1	0	0
Tewkesbury.						
Hartland, Mrs.....				1	1	0
HAMPSHIRE.						
Alton.						
Crowley, Henry	22	0	0			
Crowley, Abraham ..	11	0	0			
Holmes, William....	1	0	0	0	10	0
Andover.						
Heath, Thomas				1	1	0
Basingstoke.						
Lefroy, C. E. (Westham)	10	0	0			
Fordingbridge.						
Neave, Josiah				1	0	0
Lymington.						
Clark, Mrs.	1	0	0			
Petersfield.						
Vick, J. O.				0	10	0
Winchester.						
Knight, Miss	5	0	0	1	0	0
HEREFORDSHIRE.						
Hereford.						
Evans, Thomas.....				1	1	0
Leominster.						
Newman, George....				2	0	0
Pritchard, John	5	0	0	2	0	0
Southall, Samuel....	6	0	0	2	0	0
Southall, Edward P..				2	0	0
Southall, John				1	1	0
Ross.						
Burgess, Wilson				1	0	0
Morgan, Nathaniel ..				1	1	0
HERTFORDSHIRE.						
Bedwell Park.						
Smith, Sir C. E. Bart.	5	5	0			
Berkhampstead.						
Squire, Thomas	5	0	0	1	0	0
Harpenden.						
Curtis, James				1	1	0
Hertford.						
Cole, Joseph.....	0	10	0			
Lucas, James				0	10	0
Manser, William....				0	10	0
Pollard, William....				0	10	0
Squire, Henry	0	10	0			
Hitchin.						
Auxiliary Society ..	50	0	0			
Sharples, Joseph....	60	0	0			
Hoddesden.						
Manser, James P....				0	10	0
Ware.						
Cranstone, George ..				0	10	0
Hooper, Maria de Horne				1	0	0
Messer, Joseph				0	10	0
Squire, Joseph Hooper				0	10	0
HUNTINGDON.						
Houghton.						
Brown, Potto	2	0	0	2	0	0
Goodman, Joseph ..	2	0	0	2	0	0
St. Ives.						
Auxiliary Society ..	5	0	0			
Bliss, Rev. Thos. B.A.	1	0	0			
Gillens, Edward	0	10	0			
Holland, Rev. J. K..	1	0	0			
Paul, T. D.	1	0	0	1	0	0
Upcher, Joseph				1	0	0
KENT.						
Blackheath.						
Paynter, John, Montpelier road.....	5	5	0			
Margate.						
Auxiliary society....	6	0	0			
Rochester.						
Rochester and Chatham Auxiliary....	40	0	0			
Tatum, William....				1	0	0
Stroud.						
Wheeler, Frederick	2	0	0	1	0	0
LANCASHIRE.						
Blackburn.						
Alderson, Harrison				0	10	6
Eccles, Banister....				1	0	0
Eccles, T. and R ..				1	0	0
Hilton, Edward				1	0	0
Shorrock, Eccles				1	0	0
Thwaite, John				0	10	6
Colthouse Meeting.						
Friends at,.....	2	18	0			
Fearnhead.						
Fletcher, Martha....				2	0	0
Liverpool.						
Benson, Robert	50	0	0			
Bulley, Alderman T.	2	0	0			
Comer, William	5	0	0	1	1	0
Cooke, George	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cooke, Isaac.....	3	0	0	2	0	0
Coward, John				2	2	0
Cox, George L.....	2	0	0			
Cropper, Edward....	50	0	0	5	0	0
Cropper, John, jun...	50	0	0	5	0	0
Crossfield, G. and Co.	35	0	0			
Crossfield, John	5	0	0	1	1	0
Fawcett, William ..	10	0	0	1	0	0
Greene, J. H.				1	0	0

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £.	s.	d.
Hadwen, Isaac.....	5	5	0			
Hadwen, Isaac, jun.	5	0	0			
Haigh, Bartin	5	0	0	1	1	0
Hope, William.....				1	1	0
Job, Messrs, Brothers	5	0	0			
Jones, R., and Sons	5	0	0	1	1	0
Kay, William	20	0	0			
King, Alfred.....				1	1	0
King, Joseph	1	1	0			
Morecroft, Thomas..	5	0	0	1	1	0
Rathbone, William..	10	0	0			
Rathbone, Richard ..	15	0	0	1	1	0
Robson, H. E.....				1	0	0
Ryley, James, jun...	5	0	0			
Walmsley, Sir Joshua				2	2	0
Yates, Richard V. ..	5	0	0	1	1	0
Manchester.						
Binyon, Thomas				2	0	0
Clare, Peter				1	1	0
Crewdson, Isaac	20	10	0			
Dawson, George	1	1	0			
Hall, J., jun. (Salford)				1	1	0
Manchester and Salford Auxiliary	95	0	0			
Rochdale.						
Bright, Jacob	10	0	0			
Swarthmore Meeting.						
Funds at, ...	5	.0	0			
Swarthmore Meeting.						
Friends at, ...	2	2	0			
Wigan.						
Haigh Foundry Co...	5	0	0	2	0	0
Heron, John L.	1	0	0	1	0	0
LEICESTERSHIRE.						
Leicester.						
Burgess, Thomas ..				1	0	0
Ellis, John.....	5	0	0			
LINCOLNSHIRE.						
Bransby.						
Spencer, Thomas....				1	1	0
Gainsborough.						
Bowen, S. M.				0	10	0
Pelian, Thomas				0	5	0
Watson, Thomas....				0	5	0
Louth.						
Auxiliary Society ..	10	0	0			
Barker, Francis	5	0	0			
Larder, Joseph	5	0	0			
Spalding.						
Massey, William....	5	0	0			
Spilsby and Alford Auxiliary, per W. Rose, Sec.....	15	0	0			
Holland, Mrs. (Hallow Park)	5	0	0			
MIDDLESEX.						
Barnet.						
Robarts, Nathaniel..	10	10	0			
Chelsea.						
Alsop, Richard, jun..	0	10	0	0	10	0
Warner, C. H. 6, Paradise Row				1	1	0
Clapton.						
Forster, Joseph T. (Springfield).....	10	0	0			
Hackney.						
Carlile, Rev. J.				1	1	0
Livesay, Thomas....	0	10	0			
Hounslow.						
Ashby, William				1	0	0
Isleworth.						
Beck, Edward	2	2	0	1	1	0
Kensington.						
Canning, Sophia				0	10	0
Kingsland.						
Scoble, A. R., Collecting Book	0	17	2			
Southgate.						
Overend, Mary.....	10	10	0			
Staines.						
Ashby, Charles.....				1	0	0
Ashby, Frederick ..				1	0	0
Ashby, Thomas, jun.				1	1	0
Pope, Miss Margaret	5	0	0			
Stoke Newington.						
Anonymous	5	0	0			
Homan, Francis				1	1	0
Hunton, Joseph				0	10	0
Thompson, W.....				2	0	0
Ladies' Auxiliary, Mrs. Jefferson Treasurer	97	18	2			
Sale of Fancy Articles, per ditto.....	7	18	2			
Tottenham.						
Ball, William	10	10	0	2	2	0
Forster, Josiah.....				3	3	0
Forster, Robert	5	0	0	1	1	0
A Friend per ditto ..	50	0	0			
Howard, Robert				5	5	0
Stacey, Rachael	5	0	0	2	0	0
NORFOLK.						
Downham Market.						
Doyle, James				1	0	0
Norwich.						
Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary, per J. J. Gurney	160	0	0			
Bignold, Thomas ..	5	0	0	1	1	0
Forster, William....				1	1	0
Gurney, Joseph John	150	0	0	5	5	0
Wereham.						
Sewell, Philip	3	0	0	1	1	0
Yarmouth.						
Sewell, Edward	5	0	0	1	0	0
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.						
Ketteringe.						
Friends, per J. G. Gotch	7	16	0			
Northampton.						
Auxiliary, per James Atkins, Secretary .	10	0	0			
Wellingborough.						
Auxiliary Society ..	10	0	0			
NORTHUMBERLAND.						
Newcastle-on-Tyne.						
Ladies' Association .	5	0	0			
Batson, W. S.	2	2	0			
Beaumont, William..	20	5	0	1	1	0
Cargill, Thomas	3	3	0	1	1	0
Dees, Robert R.	0	10	0	0	10	0
Fenwick, John.....	5	0	0	1	1	0
Finlay, James	5	5	0	1	1	0
Forster, Matthew ..	1	0	0	0	10	0
Longridge, Michael .	3	3	0	1	1	0
Priestman, Jonathan	2	0	0	1	0	0
North Shields.						
Ladies' Association..	12	0	0			
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.						
Nottingham.						
Clarke, C. H.....	5	0	0			
Fox, Samuel	25	0	0			
OXFORDSHIRE.						
Banbury.						
Gillett, Joseph A....				1	0	0
Charlbury.						
Albright, Nicholas ..	5	0	0	0	10	0
Albright, William ..	5	0	0	0	10	0
Sessions, James				0	10	0
Oxford.						
Oxford Auxiliary....	5	0	0			
RUTLAND.						
Preston.						
Parker, T. G.				1	1	0

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £.	s.	d.
SHROPSHIRE.						
Coalbrook Dale.						
Bartlett, Rev. John..				1	1	0
Darby, Abraham	110	0	0	1	1	0
Darby, Alfred	10	0	0	1	1	0
Darby, Deborah	10	0	0	1	1	0
Darby, Lucy.....	10	0	0	1	1	0
Darby, Mary.....	10	0	0	1	1	0
Darby, Richard				1	1	0
Dickinson, Barnard .	10	0	0	1	1	0
Graham, Thomas....				0	10	6
Pritchard, George ..				1	1	0
Pritchard, John				1	1	0
Reynolds, Hannah ..				1	1	0
Rose, Ann				0	10	6
SOMERSET.						
Bath.						
Auxiliary Society ..	15	0	0			
Ladies' ditto.....	27	0	0			
Dillwyn, George	5	0	0			
Stuart, Captain C. ..	10	0	0	5	0	0
Bridgewater.						
Brown, Capt. G., R.N.				0	10	0
Brown, W. S.	0	10	0			
James, Rev. W.	0	10	0			
Nicholls, H.	0	10	0			
Pouch, —	0	10	0			
Thompson, C.	0	10	0			
Thompson, F.	0	10	0			
Thompson, Joseph ..	0	10	0			
Frome.						
Bunn, Mr. and Miss.				1	0	0
Taunton.						
Ladies' Negro Education and Anti-slavery Association ..	9	10	0			
Clark, Samuel				0	10	0
Dawe, Mary				1	0	0
Dymond, Miss S.....				1	1	0
French, William.....	0	5	0			
Smith, Mrs.				1	1	0
Thompson, Hon. Mrs. Poundersford Park	10	10	0			
Young, John.....				1	1	0
Wellington.						
Cuff, Rev. J. H.				0	10	0
Fox, Sarah	6	0	0			
STAFFORDSHIRE.						
Camp Hill, near Newcastle.						
Wedgwood, Sarah ..	111	0	0			
Wednesbury.						
Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society	45	0	0			
SUFFOLK.						
Bury St. Edmund's.						
Auxiliary Society ..	10	0	0			
Pace, John.....				1	0	0
Ipswich.						
Auxiliary	12	0	0			
Alexander, R. D.....	5	0	0			
Clarkson, Thomas, Playford Hall	55	10	0			
Clarkson, Mrs. ditto .	3	0	0	1	1	0
Shewell, John T....	5	0	0			
Needham Market.						
Maw, Thomas	2	0	0	1	1	0
Rushmere.						
Fox, Thomas	4	0	0	2	0	0
Stowmarket.						
Prentice, Thos. & Co.	5	0	0			
Webb, Joseph A.....	5	0	0			
Sudbury.						
Bass, William				1	0	0
Friends, per ditto....	2	10	0			
Woodbridge.						
Auxiliary Society, per Rev. H. Taylor....	7	10	1			

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Ann. Sub. £.	s.	d.
Ladies' Negro Friend and Instruction Society	13	0	0			
Alexander, J. B.....				0	19	0
Corrance, F. W.				1	0	0
Fowler, J. B.				0	10	0
Jessup, A.....				0	10	0
Lamb, G.....				0	10	0
Moor, Major.....				0	10	0
Oakden, B.....				0	10	0
Ross, Rev. J.....	0	10	0			
Shaw, R. N.				1	0	0
Silver, T. T.....				1	0	0
Taylor, Rev. H.				0	10	0
Thompson. P.				0	10	0
Webster, Rev. G.E..				0	10	0
SURREY.						
Clapham.						
Horne, J. S.	10	0	0			
Scrivens, George....	3	0	0			
Croydon.						
Barrett, Richard (Waddon)	5	0	0	2	2	0
Bedford, Peter.....	2	2	0			
Crowley, C. S.	5	0	0			
Everett, Ann (Thornton Heath).....				1	1	0
Firth, Philip (ditto)..				5	5	0
Towell, John				1	0	0
Peckham.						
Cash, Samuel				1	1	0
Cash, William	7	0	0	1	1	0
Jeffrey, Russell				2	2	0
Norton, William				1	1	0
Rosling, Samuel	5	0	0			
Richmond.						
Mendham, John	1	1	0			
Walworth.						
Harris, Jane	10	0	0			
Harris, Jane, jun. ..	5	0	0			
Harris, Lydia	5	0	0			
Wandsworth.						
Eaton, Mary	20	0	0	3	0	0
SUSSEX.						
Brighton.						
Special Subscriptions.						
Anonymous	0	5	0			
Bass, Isaac	1	0	0			
Bloomfield, Sir T....	0	10	0			
Brown, Francis	0	10	0			
Carr, John.....	1	0	0			
Carter, James	1	0	0			
Edwards, Rev. J.....	0	10	0			
Glaisyer, John	1	0	0			
Goulty, Rev. J. N. ..	0	10	0			
Hack, Daniel P.	1	0	0			
Horne, John.....	0	10	0			
Kemp, Grover	1	0	0			
Patching, Richard ..	0	5	0			
Penfold, William....	1	0	0			
Sewell, Isaac.....	0	10	0			
Unwin, Jonathan ..	0	10	0			
	11	0	0			
Bass, Isaac	10	0	0	1	1	0
Horsham.						
Honeywood, Thomas	0	5	0			
Pollard, William				1	0	0
Pollard, James.....				0	5	0
Standford, John				0	5	0
Lewes.						
Auxiliary Society ..	5	0	0			
Abbott, Benjamin....	0	5	0			
Browne, Mary	0	5	0			
Dicker, Thomas				0	10	0

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Kidder, James				0	10	0
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Rickman, Sarah	0	5	0			
Rickman, R. P.	0	5	0			
Woods, Joseph				0	10	0
Woods, Margaret				0	10	0
Woods, G. and A.				0	10	0
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Auxiliary	15	0	0			
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Ditto and West Brownwich Ladies'	60	0	0			
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Brewin, Thomas	5	0	0			
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Lloyd, Thomas	5	0	0			
Lloyd, James	5	0	0			
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Sturge, Joseph	445	0	0	10	10	0
Sturge, Charles	25	0	0			
Sturge, Edmund	5	0	0			
Coventry.						
Atkins, Arthur				1	0	0
Cash, Joseph				1	0	0
Gulson, John				1	0	0
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WESTMORELAND.						
Kendal.						
Auxiliary Society	71	0	0			
Ditto Ladies'	4	0	0			
Braithwaite, Isaac				3	3	0
Crewdson, W. D.	46	0	0			
Wilson, Isaac	10	0	0			
WILTSHIRE.						
Devizes.						
Anstie, G. W.				2	2	0
Melksham.						
Jefferys, Thomas	5	0	0	1	1	0
Matravers, William				1	0	0
Wotton Bassett.						
Mackness, Mr.				1	0	0
WORCESTERSHIRE.						
Bewdley.						
Zachary, Thomas	5	0	0			
Evesham.						
Burlingham, Richard				0	10	0
Ladies' Association	21	0	0			
Worcester.						
Newman, Thomas	10	0	0			
Pumphrey, Stanley				1	1	0
YORKSHIRE.						
Bradford.						
Ellis, James				1	1	0
Forster, W. E.				1	1	0
Garnutt, James				1	1	0
Harris, Henry	10	10	0			

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Jowett, Robert				2	0	0
Walker, Samuel				0	10	0
Cleck Heaton.						
Kidd, Mrs. Jane	5	0	0			
Doncaster.						
Auxiliary Society	5	0	0			
Driffield.						
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Guisborough.						
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Halifax.						
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Huddersfield.						
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Firth, Joseph				1	1	0
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Willett, Richard				1	1	0
Woodhouse, Edward				1	1	0
Hull.						
Casson, Isabel	0	10	0			
Henwood, James	1	0	0			
Priestman, Thomas	1	0	0			
West, Leonard	0	10	0			
Leeds.						
Auxiliary Society	8	0	0			
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Wailes, George	5	0	0			
Malton.						
Hopkins, John	1	0	0			
Pickering, Tabitha	0	10	0	0	10	0
Priestman, Samuel				1	0	0
Priestman, A. E.	0	10	0	0	10	0
Sewell, Abraham	0	10	0	0	10	0
Pontefract.						
Barker, Francis	5	0	0	1	1	0
Scarborough.						
Rowntree, William				1	0	0
Stickney, Isaac				1	1	0
Tindall, Robert	5	0	0			
Sheffield.						
J. H.	2	0	0			
Sutton in Craven.						
Green, John				0	10	0
Thornton.						
Priestman, Joshua				1	0	0
Priestman, Josh. jun.				1	0	0
Wakefield.						
Bennington, George				0	10	0
Holdsworth, Samuel				1	0	0
Leatham, William H.				3	0	0
Leatham, William	20	0	0			
Stocks, Samuel	5	0	0			
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Tylor, Chas. (Heath)				1	0	0
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Yealand.						
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York.						
Allan, Oswald				1	0	0
Candler, John	5	0	0	1	1	0
Capsie, F. J.	5	0	0			
Fletcher, Caleb				0	10	0
Fletcher, M. (Mount)				2	0	0

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IRELAND.						
Belfast.						
A. B. C.	0	3	6			
Calder, A.	0	10	0			
F. and A.	0	5	0			
Friend to Freedom ..	0	10	0			
Carlow.						
Leekey, Mary James (Kilnock)	20	0	0			
Cork.						
Beale, Abraham				1	0	0
Dublin.						
Haughton, James....	3	0	0			
O'Connell, Danl. M.P.				1	0	0
O'Connell, John, M.P.				1	0	0
SCOTLAND.						
Aberdeen.						
Allan, James.....				0	10	0
Brantingham, G.....				0	5	0
Brown, George.....				0	10	0
Cruikshank, A.....				1	0	0
Elmslie, William....				0	10	0
Female Emancipation Society	6	0	0			
Forsyth, John				0	10	0
Glenny, Elizabeth ..				0	5	0
King, George				0	5	0
Leslie, William				0	10	0
Leslie, John				0	5	0
Macallan, David				1	0	0
M'Donald, A.....				0	10	0
Meston, Thomas				0	5	0
Rowell, Joseph				0	10	0
Souter, David				0	10	0
Stewart, John				0	10	0
Taylor, Peter				0	5	0
Urquhart, John				0	10	0
Wigham, Anthony ..				1	1	0
Wigham, Mary.....				1	1	0
Edinburgh.						
Emancipation Society	20	0	0			
Gardiner, Mrs.....				1	0	0
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